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# RACE MIXTURE





# RACE MIXTURE

STUDIES IN

*Intermarriage and Miscegenation*

*by*

EDWARD BYRON REUTER

WHITTLESEY HOUSE

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## P R E F A C E

THE papers included in this book were written at different times in response to specific requests. Several of them were read before scientific societies and subsequently printed in various journals. Others have not been previously published. They are brought together here because there has been a demand for them and they are not, in some cases, otherwise readily available. In revising them for publication in the present form, slight changes have been made but no material alterations. There is some repetition in the different papers. It was thought better that this should be than that the unity of the individual papers should be disturbed.

Each of the studies is complete in itself and presents a sociologically significant aspect of racial contact and intermixture. But the same general thesis—that racial problems are sociological rather than biological—runs through them all. The physical differences between races, particularly skin color, is made the basis for caste distinction and differential treatment which give rise to psychological and sociological phenomena that are in no sense racial and may be understood only in social terms. This fact gets definitive expression in the mixed-blood individuals that result from racial contact

## PREFACE

and association. The hybrids tend to be distinct in social position, culture status, and personality organization: sociologically as well as racially, they are hybrid.

"Civilization and the Mixture of Races" was read before the 1929 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and printed in the *Scientific Monthly* Vol. 31 (1930), pp. 442-449. The paper on "Sex Distribution in the Mulatto Population" was printed in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 7 (1923), pp. 130-138, under the title "Sex Distribution in the Negro and Mulatto Population of the United States." "The Superiority of the Mulatto" first appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23 (1917), pp. 83-106. "The Changing Status of the Mulatto" appeared as one of the papers in *Ebony and Topaz*, a special publication of the magazine *Opportunity*. "The Hybrid as a Sociological Type" and "The Personality of Mixed Bloods" were read before meetings of the American Sociological Society and printed in the *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 19 (1925), pp. 59-68, and Vol. 22 (1928), pp. 52-59. The courtesy of the editors of these journals in granting permission to reprint is here acknowledged. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Doris M. Lorden who read the various papers and gave much help in their revision.

E. B. R.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,  
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CIVILIZATION AND THE MIXTURE  
OF RACES





## CIVILIZATION AND THE MIXTURE OF RACES

**W**HEREVER the members of divergent racial stocks have come into contact they have associated to produce a group of nondescript hybrid offspring. The social and cultural status of these half-caste individuals is determined by the attitudes of the politically and culturally dominant group. They may be accepted as a lower stratum of the dominant culture group, they may be classed as members of the exploited group, or they may be formed into an intermediate class or caste. For a longer or shorter time the two racial groups may live side by side, in a state of relative separateness, each maintaining a semblance of racial and cultural integrity. But the hybrid population grows by natural increase, by the continued intermixture of the races, and by the intermixture of the hybrids with each of the racially separate groups. The uniform results are an increase of the hybrids at the expense of each parent group, the present disappearance of racial lines, and the ultimate mongrelization of the entire population.

At the present time, the contact of racial stocks is incomparably greater than at any previous time in world history. The rise of modern science laid the basis for a new world order. It made possible

## RACE MIXTURE

a machine industry with an enormously increased production of material goods at the same time that it brought new types of communication and cheap and rapid means of transportation; it made possible and inevitable a world-wide commercial and economic unity that brought into contact and association peoples heretofore widely apart. But it brought also a spread and deepening of popular education with a consequent growth in objectivity and a weakening of sentimental and traditional controls; it operated directly and indirectly to the economic and intellectual liberation and mobility of the individual man. The new freedom, in the presence of the marked differential in economic opportunity in different regions, got expression in an unprecedented migration. This led to the contact and intermixture of diverse stocks previously widely separated, to the exclusion and absorption of weaker peoples, and to the repopulation of large areas by the amalgamated stocks.

This wholesale and indiscriminate intermixture of biological strains is, in extent at least, unlike anything before known in the contact of peoples. The conditions of the miscegenation have in many cases violated conventional and formal standards and expressed, or given rise to, serious social disorganization and personal demoralization. The facts as well as the apparent immediate consequences have aroused active and violent emotional condemnation. The general public as well as many

social students impute great significance to this amalgamation of the races. The prevailing note in the socio-political discussion is one of pessimism: there is fear of racial degeneracy, moral decadence, and culture decline; an uneasy and unanalyzed sense of impending racial and cultural disaster. In some cases, this emotional attitude has been expressed in formal and legal as well as in popular efforts to check the movement already accomplished or beyond control.

It appears to be fairly well established as a biological fact that, as such, neither inbreeding nor outbreeding has any beneficial or injurious consequences. The experimental manipulation of both plant and animal forms seems to have demonstrated that sound stock may be inbred indefinitely without ill effects and that no ill effects follow from crossbreeding. The characters that appear in the offspring are determined by the presence of genetic factors which come from the immediate parents of the individual form. The hereditary traits that mark the ancestral lines appear in the offspring in definite and predictable ratios, quite independent of whether the parents are of the same or of different racial strains. Inbreeding makes more likely the appearance of recessive traits, while crossbreeding decreases the likelihood that such traits will appear. But this is simply a question of the presence or absence of similar heritable traits in the parents

and not at all a question of in- or crossbreeding. Neither inbreeding nor crossbreeding can produce any characters not latent in the ancestral strains. On the basis of the biological facts and evidence, there is no reason to anticipate anything noteworthy as a result of the crossing of human stocks; it would appear to be a matter of relative indifference. But, as a matter of historic fact, the crossing of racial strains often has been associated with cultural phenomena of utmost human significance. The amalgamation of divergent racial strains seems always to be accompanied or followed by more or less profound changes in culture and in social organization. The facts have attracted much attention and have been variously interpreted, but the actual relation, if any, between the biological fact of race crossing and the efflorescence or decline in culture is not generally understood. Two opposing doctrines have held the field.

One school has occupied the position that racial stocks are somewhat grossly unequal in degree of native capacity for cultural achievement. They stand to each other in some sort of mental hierarchy. The existence of a superior racial group is a precondition to the appearance or even to the use and maintenance of complex forms of culture and social organization. Creative men can be produced only by a superior race. On the basis of this major premise, the argument runs to the effect that any

intermixture of the unequally endowed stocks raises the capacity of one at the same time that it lowers that of the other. The net result of amalgamation is a decadence in racial stock and a corresponding decline in culture status.

The argument in support of this position takes numerous forms—biological, psychological, and historical. In detail, it is frequently highly complicated and, in the hands of different men and sometimes in the treatment by one man, the most contradictory data are marshaled in its support. The major part of the discussion has concerned itself with an effort to demonstrate the unequal endowment of racial groups. This is central to the whole doctrine. If it be established, the intermediate culture capacity of the mixed group and the mixed-blood elements of composite groups would seem to follow as a matter of course. If, however, this is not established, it is difficult to see that racial crossing is a matter of any racial consequence. So, whether as an initial assumption or as a final conclusion, the effort of the school is to show that culture is a function of a particular racial group. In its Western form, to which attention is here limited, the effort is commonly made to demonstrate that civilization is a possibility for the white race only or even for only some one branch of the larger division.

A demonstration of the superiority of the white racial stock has been often attempted on purely

physical grounds. If the racial groups differ in their degree of resemblance to the simian forms, it may be possible to show that they represent stages in evolutionary development. In certain respects the whites are more sharply in contrast to the apes than are other races. This is notably true with respect to brain weight and size in which respects they overtop the other racial divisions. Assuming a correlation between the size of the organ and the efficiency of its functioning, the inference is immediate: the white racial groups excel the colored races and the north European white stock is superior to the other subgroups of the white division. The supporters of this doctrine commonly extend its scope to include sex and class differences within the given society: women are inferior to men in size of brain and hence in the efficiency of their mental processes; the aristocratic, leisure, educated, professional, and other well-fed groups excel the socially inferior groups in the average size and weight of brain. The greater historic achievement of the upper classes and of men over women is taken as a cultural expression of the biological facts.

The Spencerian position just outlined has been supplemented and refined by certain findings of experimental psychology. Recently, many different tests have been constructed in the effort to measure the comparative mental ability of individuals. They are designed to separate native equipment

from cultural acquisition and measure the former apart from the conditioning effects of the latter. Experimentation along this line has led to the general conclusion that white children are superior in native capacity to children of other racial groups and that the degree of superiority varies from one subracial group to another. There is also said to exist a positive correlation between social status and native capacity. To be sure, there is no complete agreement even among the testers themselves, and there has been much unanswered criticism of the technique and of the findings based thereon. But the conclusions from the use of this recent device of the laboratory are in substantial agreement with the conclusions of the Spencerian argument.

Various writers, approaching the problem from the point of view of the historical evidence, support the same thesis. They find that the great civilizations of the world have been the achievements of the white race or of the white elements of the populations. "Everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth, in science, art, and civilization, derive from a single starting point; it belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe." The Indian civilization was the work of this gifted group while the Egyptian and the Chinese civilizations began with colonies from India. The ancient Greeks and Romans, in the period of their glory, were more Nordic—"Aryan"



—than the present-day Greeks and Italians and it was these superior elements that brought about the efflorescence of classic culture. The modern civilization is said to be the unique product of the Germanic races. "It is a definite species of mankind which constitutes the physical and moral basis of our north-European culture." The modern nations—England, France, Germany, the United States—are expressions of this racial genius; civilization without an Aryan creator is impossible. Often it is claimed that only the Nordic elements of this racial division are of cultural worth: "The less Teutonic a land is the less civilized it is." In those cases where some degree of modern culture has appeared among the non-white races, the phenomenon is understood as a copying of Western methods: it is an imitation rather than a spontaneous native growth and would go into rapid decline but for the stimulus and model of the really superior groups. But some groups are said to lack even an ability to copy. One modern writer, speaking of the Negroes, insists that they lack the capacity even to comprehend many of the elements of white culture and can of course add nothing to it though they may be able to use some parts of it.

If racial groups are widely divergent in mental ability and culture capacity, it follows immediately on logical grounds that racial injury and culture disaster must follow their miscegenation. A large body of historical data has been marshaled in sup-

port of the position. Just as the flowering of the culture peoples was a function of a superior racial stock, so their decadence followed upon their miscegenation and the dilution or extinction of the white racial elements. The racial intermixture with the Negroes, brought into the Egyptian population as servile laborers, marked the beginning of the end of a great people. The mongrelized descendants were unable to advance or even to maintain the culture status, and Egypt disappeared from the family of culture nations. Greek immigration, resulting in intermixture with inferior and servile groups and the sterility of superior family lines, increased the relative numbers and dominance of the hybrid and inferior strains and so brought racial and culture decline. Rome is a repetition of the story of Egypt and of Greece. The original stock was corrupted by racial intermixture and the mongrelized group lacked the capacity to perpetuate the culture. The brilliant culture of the Renaissance was followed by an era of chaos because the "caste lines protecting the Teutonic aristocracy from blood contamination were broken down."

The cultural distribution of the modern world is made to tell the same story. The mixed nations are the backward ones. The Mexican population is a hybridized Indian group, superior to the native Indian perhaps, but inferior to the Spanish that mingled its blood with that of the native women.

South America, generally, shows the cultural consequences of miscegenation with a physically divergent and culturally lower group. In the United States, the native Indians were destroyed and the country repopulated by a north European stock; in South America, the races interbred. The present cultural contrast between the North and the South American countries is cited as a consequence of this difference in racial policy and practice. French Canada is another case in point: the numerous crossbred French-Indian population is superior to the native Indian, but so sadly below the intellectual level of the French that they are unable either to preserve the French culture or to assimilate that of other peoples. Numerous other groups illustrate the result of racial crossing: hybrid groups are everywhere backward and decadent.

To persons untrained in the rigorous logical processes of scientific thought and with only a superficial acquaintance with the body of historic reality, the position seems convincing. It is simple, direct, and in line with the spontaneous prejudices. Many writers, striving for popularity, have exploited the doctrine to an uninformed and eager audience. There has grown up a considerable body of pseudoscientific literature that stimulates at the same time that it caters to the popular beliefs and prejudices.

A second, opposing doctrine emphasizes the importance and the cultural desirability of racial amalgamation. It is frequently little more than an attempt to refute the position just outlined; the affirmative doctrine, as often as not, goes by implication rather than by direct exposition. The school recognizes the fact that racial intermixture results wherever divergent groups come into association. But the contamination of a stock by the incorporation into it of other stocks is looked upon as an occurrence that heightens racial capacity and culture worth. The hybrid offspring are likely to be, or demonstrably are, superior to one or both of the parent stocks. Racial crossing, therefore, foretells an improved race and culture. The earlier mixture of stocks explains the present cultural status, and the present-day mixture is a basis for anticipating still greater culture achievements.

Every great people, it is claimed, rests upon a mixed racial base. Whenever in the history of culture there has been great achievement it has been the expression of a hybrid rather than of a pure racial stock. "All historical nations have been of mixed blood." "The rise of culture in Greece and Rome, as indeed in western Europe, was in every case preceded some centuries by the conquest of one racial type by another and their subsequent amalgamation." The achievements of the modern world are the cultural expressions of hybrid stocks. England, Germany, the United States—the popula-

tion of every modern nation—is a composite of imperfectly blended stocks. The culture achievement is a function of this fact. Effort is also made to show that many or all great men are of mixed racial stocks.

The general position is supported by evidence drawn directly from the character and status of mixed-blood individuals and groups in the present-day world. Where two divergent groups associate to the production of an intermediate type, the achievement of the hybrid individuals as well as the cultural status of the mixed-blood group as a whole is superior to one, at least, of the ancestral types. Cases are cited from every area of miscegenation. The mulattoes resulting from the association of Negroes and whites in the United States are superior in status and accomplishment to the unmixed Negro group, and individuals are often well above the average of both the ancestral groups. With few exceptions, every American Negro who has risen above mediocrity has been of mixed racial parentage. A somewhat similar condition appears to exist in other similar areas. The Negro hybrids of South Africa, the West Indies, Brazil, and elsewhere are, on the average, culturally above the native elements of their ancestry. In some cases, these hybrid groups have produced men of high caliber. In nearly every case, the American Indians who have participated in the European culture have been men of mixed ancestry: apparently no

American Indian of full blood has risen above mediocrity, measured by the culture standards of the dominant group. The French-Indian hybrids of Canada are individually and as a group above the culture level of the Indian ancestry. The *mestizos* of Mexico and Latin America, the hybrid Eskimos, the Hawaiian and Philippine mixtures, and numerous other minor groups of hybridized stock are in culture and in social status above the level of one at least of the racial ancestors.

The same general position is supported by a body of negative evidence. The population groups in the modern world with the highest approximation to racial purity are just those groups of most meager cultural accomplishment. The fragments of primitive groups still living are the purest in blood and the lowest in culture of existing populations. In America, the white stock with the lowest index of recent racial intermixture are the southern mountaineers. They are at the same time the most culturally retarded white group in the American population.

On the basis of such selected cases, it is possible to maintain with some show of evidence the position that culture is dependent upon the intermixture rather than upon the purity of racial stocks.

The two positions stand in more or less direct opposition: one doctrine holds that civilization is an expression of racial purity, or at least can arise

only in the presence of a great race of purity, and that culture declines with the decadence of racial stock resulting from the intermixture of races; the other asserts that civilization is a result of the mixture of races, that the amalgamation leads to racial virility and cultural efflorescence, and that purity and inbreeding of stock leads to racial degeneration and to the decadence and sterility of culture.

Such conflict of doctrine must have a basis in something more fundamental than a simple difference in the reading of facts. Confusion of thought is not persistent in the presence of examined assumptions and rigid definition. It is desirable, therefore, to turn from the positions occupied to the major logical presupposition upon which they are both erected.

This presupposition, sometimes definitely recognized and stated, sometimes unrecognized and naïvely assumed, is that culture is a function of race and grows and declines with changes in the composition of the racial stock.

The position of the racial purists, as that of their opponents, rests upon the assumption that a causal relation obtains between race and civilization. Both give a racial interpretation to institutional growth. Civilization is assumed to be a function of race, an expression of racial qualities. Whether the position occupied be that the flowering of culture is a result of racial purity or of hybridization, or that culture

decline is a result of miscegenation or of inbreeding, the basic assumption is that the culture facts are in some direct way determined by the facts of biology. The tenability of either position, therefore, turns upon the soundness of this assumption. It must be shown that culture is a function of race, else it can not be admitted that the degree of purity or mixture of racial stock is even pertinent to the discussion.

The origin and persistence of this assumption is interesting and enlightening. It arose and prevailed because it offered an explanation within the comprehension of the simple mind. The spontaneous tendency of the popular mind is to assume a direct cause and effect relation between coincident phenomena and between phenomena that stand to each other in temporal sequence. It is a matter of proverbial wisdom that the naïve person transfers his emotional reaction from a bit of unwelcome news to the carrier of the information. The whole body of folk superstition is an exemplification of the same type of logical error. Where a direct causal relation actually obtains between coincident phenomena it is not unusual to find misapprehension or even complete reversal of the determining rôle of the coëxisting factors: which is taken as cause and which as effect is determined in many cases by the individual or social bias of the observer.

This tendency to assume causality because of coëxistence or sequence is particularly pronounced



in questions of a bio-social nature. The relation of social and biological facts and processes in the universe of reality is not generally understood. The facts of human culture do not appear or persist apart from the facts of human biology: there are no human beings without culture; there is no culture without human beings. Moreover, the differences between the various racial groups and the various culture complexes are gross and notorious. A similar relation has existed throughout the historic era. It is perhaps inevitable that common sense should draw the inference that the culture complex is a function of the racial variant with which it is associated. The observation of gross physical differences leads to the position that there are corresponding mental differences which, in turn, are assumed to account for the variations in culture. The prominence of the European Jew in financial circles leads to the position that the group is somehow peculiarly endowed for commercial venturing. The poverty and ignorance of the Negro are commonly accounted for in terms of a native mental incapacity consequent upon the factor of race. The more culturally aggressive peoples of the day are of north European origin; the inference is easy and direct that this cultural status is an expression and a consequence of the racial factor.

This type of common-sense explanation arises spontaneously in the presence of any group of

phenomena in spacial proximity or temporal sequence. In bio-social phenomena it tends to persist partly because its flattering implications do not offend the dominant races and classes and are not so subtle as to escape their attention. Moreover, the doctrine puts the ineffective classes and retarded races somewhere outside the strictly human groups to which the ethical imperative applies and so affords a basis and justification for the urge to use and exploit them.

But the assumption persists in part for the reason that the objective relation of the biological and cultural facts has not been emphasized adequately. It is difficult to find anywhere in the literature of bio-social reality a clear analytic statement of the interdependent relationship of organic and social reality. The spontaneous common-sense views, as well as the rationalizations in justification of colonial and other types of exploitative policy, are able to persist because of this absence of a definitive analysis of the relationship of the fundamental processes.

Race, whether the word be used to designate a biological entity or merely a relative biological stability subsequent to intermixture, is a product of inbreeding. The heritable divergences arising in any stock become established as racial marks in the degree to which the individuals bearing the marks are structurally or otherwise isolated. In

the breeding of plants and animals to the establishment of a new line or to the maintenance of a thoroughbred stock, individuals showing the desired characters are separated from others and inbred in order that the traits may be fixed and characterize the strain. Without such separation there is crossbreeding, mixture of characters, the production of hybrid offspring. Exactly the same thing is true of human forms. Purity of race is a result of variation followed by long isolation and close inbreeding of the variant forms. The heritable racial marks are fixed by inbreeding; they are lost in crossbreeding. Without a long period of isolation, whether it be maintained by spacial separation or by conventional barriers, distinctive racial marks are lost and purity of race is nonexistent. The only human groups of even relative racial purity are those that have been separated from foreign contacts and inbred through long periods of time. Some of the Eskimos, the American Indians of the southwest deserts, the interior tribes of Australia, the Andaman Islanders, the hill folk of India, are among the human groups that most nearly approximate purity of racial stock. Their purity is the result of this isolation.

Cultural development, on the other hand, is a consequence of social contacts. Isolation results in cultural uniformity; in stability and fixity of standards; in a régime of suppression, of law and order; in traditional behavior and cultural stagna-

tion. Social contact means the introduction of new values and methods and divergent ideas. The new may come, of course, through independent invention and discovery which disturb traditional practices and beliefs and initiate social change. But, in general, the contact of peoples is a precondition to culture growth. Historically, every civilization has followed upon a period of migration. Every European culture followed upon the contact of different tribal stocks and cultures. The contacts resulted in the introduction of divergent standards and practices and in the breakdown of cultural equilibrium. All progress is made in periods of disorder when individuals are freed because the formal controls are ineffective and the primary controls are conflicting. And change, by contributing to the disorder, is itself a factor in further change.

The two processes thus stand in fairly definite and sharp contrast. Isolation is an essential precondition to racial purity. But the uniform and inevitable effect of isolation is cultural stagnation and retardation. The people most pure in race are most retarded in culture. Contact, on the other hand, is a condition essential to culture growth. It brings the divergent standards, the strange beliefs, the new practices, and the fruitful ideas and methods which disorganize the established order and free the individual. On the biological side, the uniform effect of the contact of races is a mixture of blood

and the ultimate production of a modified racial type. But the biological intermixture is aside from the cultural development: both result from the contact of peoples but neither is a direct cause of the other.

In fact, races and cultures, so far from being in any sense identical—or even the product of similar conditions and forces—are perhaps to be set over against one another as contrast and effects, the result of antagonistic tendencies, so that civilization may be said to flourish at the expense of racial differences rather than to be conserved by them. At any rate, if it is true that races are the products of isolation and inbreeding, it is just as certain that civilization, on the other hand, is a consequence of contact and communication. The forces that have been decisive in the history of mankind are those which have brought men together in fruitful competition, conflict, and coöperation . . .

Changes in race, it is true, do inevitably follow, at some distance, changes in culture. The movement and mingling of peoples which bring rapid, sudden, and often catastrophic, changes in customs and habits are followed, in the course of time, as a result of inbreeding, by corresponding modifications in temperament and physique. There has probably never been an instance where races have lived together in the intimate contacts which a common economy enforces in which racial contiguity has not produced racial hybrids. However, changes in racial characteristics and in culture traits proceed at different rates.<sup>1</sup>

The assumption common to both parties to the controversy over the effect of racial amalgamation on civilization is that culture is somehow a function

<sup>1</sup> R. E. PARK, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, pp. 882, 883, 1928.

of race. When it is recognized that this position is untenable, that race and culture are independent facts and processes, the whole controversy is without point. Either purity of race or mixture of race may go with either a superior or a retarded culture.

It is, however, an extreme position to assert that racial amalgamation has no cultural significance. In an indirect way the crossing of races is conducive to social change. In its earlier stages at least, the intermixture of races takes place for the most part on the outskirts of the civilization. It is in general contrary to the tradition and in violation of the *mores*; it is usually extra-matrimonial and shocking to the conventional moral standards; it is condemned, opposed, forbidden. Racial miscegenation in these early stages is an evidence and form of social disorganization. It contributes to social disorder, disintegration, and confusion of standards at the same time that it makes them evident. It is of course from social disorganization that progress must proceed: change is not possible without it. On the other hand, the social disorder incident to the contact of variant standards and practices is conducive to the violation of the traditional sex tabus, hence is favorable to racial miscegenation.



**RACIAL AMALGAMATION IN THE  
UNITED STATES**





## RACIAL AMALGAMATION IN THE UNITED STATES

**W**HETHER by original nature or in response to the requirement of continued existence, man has always been a restless animal. Primitive groups were more or less typically migratory bands. They wandered in search of food, to escape enemies, or merely in response to restless impulse. Non-migrating primitive groups existed, to be sure, but they were the exception, not the rule, and the legendary origin of these was generally in a migration. As culture developed, individual and group mobility increased. Exchange extended over ever-wider areas as trade routes were established and means of transportation perfected. War and plunder, and later colonization and commerce, stimulated at the same time that they made necessary the movement of individuals and peoples. In the present industrial and commercial era, the rapid means of communication, the safety of travel, and the cheapness of transportation have brought an amount of migration far in excess of that of any previous time.

The inevitable result of migration, in a populated world, is human contact and group and culture conflict. The initial conflict presently gives way

to some sort of working relations and is ultimately resolved in a mutual accommodation to a blended culture. An incidental but invariable outcome of human contact and association is the mixture of blood and the fusion of ethnic types. The skeletal remains of early man, as well as his works of art, attest the fact that the crossing of racial strains was in process at least as early as the beginning of human life on the European continent.

The intercrossing has continued to the present day. In the contacts and conflicts incident to the migration of tribal groups old races were broken up and new ones formed from the fragments. Strong groups conquered weaker ones, imposed themselves as ruling classes, and presently absorbed or were absorbed by the conquered peoples. In the present day, few primitive groups remain for long unchanged; they are in constant process of modification through contact and intermixture with other groups.

The facts of migration and racial intermixture have been so widespread and long continued that there have been no pure racial groups of numerical or cultural importance during the historic period. In the modern world, the few peoples of relatively pure blood are small and geographically isolated primitive bands. Even among the various Negro tribes of Africa only two or three at most are without a distinct trace of ancient or recent intermixture with other racial stocks. The modern culture

nations in every case are a medley of imperfectly blended types. There seems never to have been a group, reaching the organization level of a political state, that was not composed of heterogeneous racial elements. Racial homogeneity has always and everywhere been associated with a somewhat retarded state of culture.

In general, the fusion of racial stocks in a population goes on without exciting opposition or popular concern. In the present day, this is especially true in cosmopolitan societies habituated to the presence of divergent ethnic types. It is not in general looked upon as a matter of political consequence and does not create a social problem. On the contrary it gradually eliminates any problem created by the presence of physically divergent and culturally unassimilated elements. The characteristic racial marks that distinguish the parent race and give a convenient basis for classification and exclusion are softened in the mixed-blood offspring. Often, indeed, these racially intermediate members bear no obvious external marks of their origin. In such cases the hybridization removes any social problem of racial origin by removing the marks of identification.

In some cases, however, the crossing of races produces hybrid offspring readily distinguishable from either parent race. This is likely to be the case whenever the parent groups are of different major racial divisions. The distinguishable character of

the mixed-blood offspring is a matter of great importance in bi-racial situations, particularly where antagonism exists between the racial groups. In the last analysis, racial problems reduce to differences in physical characters. When two racial groups differing in appearance and culture occupy the same territory, the outstanding external mark of the subordinate group becomes a symbol of its culture status: it stands, in the thinking of the dominant group, for poverty, dirt, ignorance, and the whole train of unpleasant and unlovely accompaniments and consequences of inferior status. In the situation, any individual bearing the mark is automatically classified—assumed to have the personal characteristics that the mark symbolizes—and socially excluded. He is not accepted on the basis of his personal worth but as a member of the despised race. The hybrids produced in such bi-racial situations are marked men. Their distinctive physical appearance gives a point about which sentiment may crystallize; they cannot escape classification and categorical treatment. In the circumstances they form or tend to form a caste or special class in the population. The biological marks of origin are the basis for differential social treatment. The hybrids develop more or less characteristic attitudes and behavior patterns, manifest distinctive types of mind and personality, and play a significant rôle in the interracial situation. They become sociological as well as biological phenomena wherever

the mixture of blood is made the basis of social distinction.

While the mixture of races is very old and widespread, it is only, or chiefly, within the recent periods that it has given rise to social and administrative problems and to sociological and personality phenomena. The primitive peoples within the radius of contact and association were generally not sharply contrasting ethnic groups. The types and stages of culture were much alike. The sentiment of race was feeble or non-existent. Conquering and conquered groups were quickly knit together by bonds of common interest. The mixed-blood offspring were not often of an outstanding physical type and their presence in the situation was a factor tending to unite more intimately and fundamentally the conquerers with the conquered. Their appearance was in fact the beginning of a new racial homogeneity.

In the ancient world, the contact of races seems generally not to have given rise to hybrid groups of distinct social and psychological status. There was frequently no sentiment of race or nationality among the conquered peoples. Between the conquerers and the conquered, there was often no very obvious external differences in physical appearance that would serve as a ready and relatively permanent basis for separation and discrimination. The grades of culture in the ancient world between the ruling

groups and their conquered subjects were not so distant as those between the modern civilized and backward racial groups.

It was in and following the period of the discoveries that culturally advanced and backward peoples for the first time came into contact and close association in large numbers. These associating groups were in general sharply contrasted in physical type as well as in type of culture. In the circumstances, the mixed-blood offspring were generally of irregular, extra-matrimonial origin and easily distinguishable from the members of either parent group. They bore the obvious biological marks of bi-racial origin. In many cases, the persons of mixed blood acquired, or had forced upon them, a more or less peculiar social status and developed, in consequence, distinctive types of character and personality. The presence of such groups in the population has given rise, in some cases at least, to special social and administrative problems and to highly enlightening sociological phenomena.

Mixed-blood groups are to be found in larger or smaller numbers in most of the port cities of the East. The miscegenation of the early Portuguese traders and resident Portuguese with Hindu women gave the beginnings of a half-caste, European-Indian group. But, in the absence of a regular infusion of Portuguese blood, the hybrids gradually reverted to the native type. Perhaps a half-million persons in the population still show traces of this

early hybridization. With the English occupation, there began a new intermixture of European and Indian blood. At present, in Madras, Bengal, Burma, Bombay, and elsewhere there are considerable numbers of Anglo-Indian hybrids who form more or less separate and distinct racial groups. Socially they are outcaste: they have no standing with either the white man or the Indian. "To the European we are half-caste, among ourselves we are no caste, and to the Indians we are outcaste." They aspire to be Europeans but they do nothing to consolidate the British rule and have no part in the interracial situation. Physically and culturally, they stand between the two races and the two civilizations without being an integral part of either. They are in a very large measure responsible for the so-called Eurasian question.

In many of the Latin American countries, the mixed-blood groups are large and important segments of the populations. In the Brazilian colonial period there was a very extensive concubinage of the native women by the Portuguese colonials. With the present introduction of African slaves there was a similar association with the Negro women. To the two mixed-blood groups thus formed—the *mestizo* and the mulatto—there was presently added a population of Negro-Indian hybrids, the *zambos*. For a time the six racial groups were fairly distinct, each with a somewhat clearly defined social status. But intermixture



among the hybrid stocks and between the hybrids and the original stocks gradually obliterated the lines of demarkation: the hybrid populations fused, forming a single mixed-blood group of wholly indeterminable ethnic composition. The *metis*, resulting from this triangular mixture of Indian, Negro, and Portuguese, now compose a third or half of the Brazilian population. They form a sort of middle class between the white upper classes and the Negro and Indian peasant and proletarian groups. At the founding of the republic they secured a status of political equality with the whites and many are influential in the economic and civic life of the country. Even in social life, the color lines are broad and vague. Intermarriage is neither legally forbidden nor socially disapproved; mixed unions are not uncommon, especially in the intermediate and low-class groups. The social aristocracy is of unmixed European descent. In certain regions, especially in areas where there has been a considerable north European immigration, a rather sharp color line separates the white from the colored and mixed-blood groups. More usually, however, the line is drawn to place the Negro and Indian groups on the one side and the whites and *metis* on the other. In general, the mixed-blood groups bridge the gap between the country's racial and cultural extremes.

A somewhat similar racial status exists in many parts of Central and South America. The Spanish

intermixed freely with the native Indians and, later, with their Negro slaves. The result was that in many places there were six distinct racial elements in the population, each with a rather clearly defined social status in the community life. Time and further intermixture reduced the various mongrel types to a relative uniformity in physical appearance and social status. At present, a distribution into racial categories is perhaps impossible except in a very loose and general way. There is in general a small white social aristocracy that controls the political affairs. The Indians form the lowest stratum of the population. The *mestizos* are socially intermediate though there is no sharp color line between them and the whites. Racially and culturally, the population grades without abrupt break from the native Indians to the white aristocracy. There is nothing in law or custom to prevent intermarriage. Racial prejudice and friction arise chiefly where Negro and mulatto elements are present.

In the British province of Jamaica, the hybrid population of European-Negro ancestry is an important element of the population. The whites, who make up only about 2 per cent of the total population, are the aristocratic, ruling, and leisure class. The mulattoes or "coloured," as the English phrase has it, make up about one-fifth of the total population. They are a fairly distinct middle class and are for the most part a town population.

They are engaged in personal service, in the trades and professions, they carry on most of the small trade, fill most of the minor governmental positions, and occupy some important positions in the public service. The blacks, those with no noticeable evidence of white ancestry, compose about 75 per cent of the total population. They are a laboring and peasant class with little education and take small part in the political and cultural life of the province. Between the black and "coloured" populations there is a sharp social as well as official distinction. In the absence of personal fortune or high official position, the social status of the Negro individual varies with the lightness of his skin and the relative absence of other racial marks. Racial feeling is everywhere in Jamaica a factor in race relations but the prestige of the whites and their political recognition of the mulattoes have kept it from assuming the proportions of a problem. There is a very real color line between the Negroes and mulattoes as between the mulattoes and the whites.

In South Africa, the mixed-blood element of the population is small. The small white population draws an impassable color line, with the whites on one side and all Negroes and Negro mixtures on the other. The attitude of the white man is one of aversion: he dislikes and despises the Negro and he recognizes no difference between the Negroes and the mixed bloods. The mixed-blood people at the

present time are intellectually and culturally far in advance of the blacks. They chafe against the social ostracism from the white group with which they would be identified and they resent the edict of the whites which would identify them with the native side of their ancestry. They form separate groups apart from the Negro and from the white.

Numerically important mixed-blood groups have formed in many other places and play significant rôles in the social and political life.<sup>1</sup> There has, however, been little or no careful research work done on any of these groups. In the absence of monographic studies little is known in regard to the nature and amount of intermixture, the biological and social consequences, or the sociological aspects and processes. The amalgamation of the Negro and the white in the United States seems to be representative of the process wherever races have been in contact.

The Negroes have never shown any marked aversion to crossing with other races. Their women at all times and places have entertained the men of all races and peoples with whom they have been in contact.

Probably 50 per cent of the Negroes brought as slaves to America were modified in some degree

<sup>1</sup> For a summary statement concerning such groups and the rôles they play in the social life, see E. B. Reuter, "The Mulatto in the United States," especially Chaps. II and III.

by earlier intermixture with other races. In America further modifications began as soon as the Negroes became an element in the population. The social conditions favored intermixture. Throughout most of the Colonial period there was a paucity of white women. This was a powerful factor tending to overcome any natural repugnance to sexual association with the women of a strange race. The white population, on the whole, was of a rough pioneer sort little given to fastidious discriminations. The Negroes were of a low social status and tended to seek rather than to avoid attention by members of the superior group. They were not usually in a position to avoid undesired intimacies.

Some part of the early intermixture was the result of conventional marriage unions between Negroes or Indians and low-class white persons. Several of the colonies had very considerable populations of indentured servants. These groups included deported convicts, paupers, prostitutes, vagabonds, and orphaned children as well as many worthy persons in temporary servitude in payment for their passage to America. The social status of these persons was not very unlike that of the Negroes and their association occasionally resulted in mixed marriage unions. Such marriages, however, always aroused violent public disapproval and were generally forbidden under heavy legal penalty. Maryland, for example, forbade the practice as early as 1663. This, as similar legal pro-

hibitions in the other colonies, was the result of mixed unions that aroused popular indignation. Some of these marriages were of white serving women with Negro or Indian men; others were unions of white men and Negro or Indian women.

The little intermarrying that took place in the early Colonial days between the Negroes and the white indentured servants ceased almost entirely as the status of the Negroes became fixed and understood. The early spirit of camaraderie between the servant whites and the slave Negroes gave way to a bitter hatred that characterized the relations of the Negroes and "poor whites" throughout the later slave period. There was no intermarrying in the slave states except in Louisiana, where white creoles sometimes married rich colored girls. In the North there was very little. Where such alliances were not forbidden by law they were discouraged by popular sentiment. There were a few mixed marriages just prior to the Civil War traceable to the activities of the abolitionist groups, but the total number was so small as to be negligible.

Since the Negro Emancipation mixed marriages have been very infrequent. In many of the states they are forbidden by law and usually under heavy penalty. In most of the other states the sentiment against such unions is so general as to make the consideration of prohibitive legislation a frequent subject of legislative debate. The infrequency of

such unions is perhaps the chief reason why prohibitive laws are not found in other states.

In the great majority of mixed marriages the white person is a woman, very infrequently a man. The women come as a rule from the lower social and economic strata of the white population and the marriage often means a very decided improvement in the economic status and comfort. The women in many cases are recent immigrants without the pronounced color prejudice of the older Americans. The alliances are often formed with little real appreciation of the American tabus on such unions. Mulattoes more frequently than the dark Negroes enter into marriage relations with white persons.

It is quite evident that the origin and increase of the mulatto population in the United States has in a very minor degree only been the outcome of conventional marriage unions of Negroes and whites.

A second source of mulatto increase has been in socially unrecognized but fairly stable relations between white men and Negro women. This has been very commonly a form of polygyny, the man maintaining a white and one or more colored households. It is impossible to state, with any assurance of close accuracy, how frequently such establishments were maintained during the slave period: it varied widely with time and place. It

was never a uniform practice in the slave-holding group but in certain sections it approached the status of an accepted custom. Even in sections where the practice was socially tabued cases of more or less open concubinage were generally matters of common knowledge.

Whatever the actual amount of concubinage of Negro and mulatto women by white men, it has always been, in America, a more usual sex relation than has formal intermarriage and has been a more important factor in accounting for the increase of the mixed-blood population. It is also of great importance from the standpoint of the quality and cultural opportunity of the children of the unions. The relation was exclusively one of white men and colored women. Moreover, it involved some degree of selection. The men who maintained a household of this character were quite generally, at least socially and economically, of a higher order than those who married into the Negro group. Also the Negro girls who formed such alliances were in general selected persons. It must be remembered that a sex relation between a slave woman and a white man was in no sense forced: it was in general a relation to which the Negro girl aspired and one which she courted. To be chosen by a man of the master class was the highest honor that she could hope to attain. Such families were, therefore, of more or less successful men and selected Negro girls. The children of such unions had on



the whole a better ancestry and were more advantageously situated socially than were the children resulting from casual contacts or even the offspring of mixed marriages of a more conventional sort. In the slave period it was very usual for these families to be freed and, occasionally, at least, to be given some education and property.

The system reached its highest development between the free mulatto women and the non-slave-holding men. In the cities where there was a large population of mulattoes of some degree of culture and refinement, as in Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, the practice reached a development only a little short of a socially sanctioned institution. Olmsted's description of concubinage as it existed in New Orleans shortly before the Civil War gives a picture of the system in the best form that it reached anywhere in America.

I refer to a class composed of the illegitimate offspring of white men and colored women (mulattoes or quadroons), who, from habits of early life, the advantages of education, and the use of wealth, are too much superior to the negroes, in general, to associate with them, and are not allowed by law, or the popular prejudice, to marry white people. The girls are frequently sent to Paris to be educated, and are very accomplished. They are generally pretty, and often handsome. I have rarely, if ever, met more beautiful women, than one or two of them that I saw by chance in the streets. They are much better formed, and have a much more graceful and elegant carriage than Americans in general, while they seem to have commonly inherited or acquired much of the taste and skill,

in the selection and arrangement, and the way of wearing dresses and ornaments, that is the especial distinction of the women of Paris. Their beauty and attractiveness being their fortune, they cultivate and cherish with diligence every charm or accomplishment they are possessed of.

Of course, men are attracted by them, associate with them, are captivated, and become attached to them, and, not being able to marry them legally, and with the usual forms and securities for constancy, make such arrangements "as can be agreed upon." When a man makes a declaration of love to a girl of this class, she will admit or deny, as the case may be, her happiness in receiving it; but, supposing she is favorably disposed, she will usually refer the applicant to her mother. The mother inquires, like a Countess of Kew, into the circumstances of the suitor; ascertains whether he is able to maintain a family, and, if satisfied with him, in these and other respects, requires from him security that he will support her daughter in a style suitable to the habits she has been bred to, and that, if he should ever leave her, he will give her a certain sum for each of the children she shall then have.

The wealth, thus secured, will, of course, vary—as in society with higher assumptions of morality—with the value of the lady in the market; that is, with her attractiveness, and the number and value of other suitors she may have, or may reasonably expect. Of course, I do not mean that love has nothing at all to do with it; but love is sedulously restrained, and held firmly in hand, until the road of competency is seen to be clear, with less humbug than our English custom requires about it. Everything being satisfactorily arranged, a tenement in a certain quarter of the town is usually hired, and the couple move into it and go to housekeeping—living as if they were married. The woman is not, of course, to be wholly deprived of the society of others—her former acquaintances are continued, and she sustains her relations as daughter, sister, and friend. Of course, too, her husband (she calls him

so—why shouldn't she?) will be likely to continue, also, more or less in, and form a part of, this kind of society. There are parties and balls—*bals masqués*—and all the movements and customs of other fashionable society, which they can enjoy in it, if they wish. The women of this sort are represented to be exceedingly affectionate in disposition, and constant beyond reproach.

During all the time a man sustains this relation, he will commonly be moving, also, in reputable society on the other side of the town; not improbably, eventually he marries, and has a family establishment elsewhere. Before doing this, he may separate from his *placée* (so she is termed). If so, he pays her according to agreement, and as much more, perhaps, as his affection for her, or his sense of the cruelty of the proceeding, may lead him to; and she has the world before her again, in the position of a widow. Many men continue, for a long time, to support both establishments—particularly, if their legal marriage is one *de convenance*. But many others form so strong attachments, that the relation is never discontinued, but becomes, indeed, that of marriage, except that it is not legalized or solemnized. These men leave their estate, at death, to their children, to whom they may have previously given every advantage of education they could command. What becomes of the boys, I am not informed; the girls, sometimes, are removed to other countries, where their color does not prevent their living reputable lives; but, of course, mainly continue in the same society and are fated to a life similar to that of their mothers<sup>1</sup>.

It is not possible to know the extent to which concubinage of Negro women by white men is practiced at the present time. There has been no

<sup>1</sup> F. L. OLMSTED, "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," pp. 594-597. See, also, MRS. TROLLOPE, "Domestic Manners of the Americans," pp. 15-16.

competent investigation on which to base an estimate. Effort is sometimes made to show that the practice was always rare and no longer exists. Other writers, grossly overstating the known facts, make concubinage appear to be a well-nigh uniform community practice. The relation is shocking from the standpoint of the conventional middle-class sex code, hence is a valuable tool in propagandistic controversy. The opinions expressed are usually little more than offhand expressions of individual prejudice or neighborhood gossip employed in acrimonious debate.

In some small part, the mixed-blood population came from conventional marriage unions of Negroes and white persons. A somewhat larger but wholly indeterminable part had its origin in the type of subsurface polygyny just described. But the most important item in the amalgamation of the races was the casual meeting and temporary association of white men and Negro women with nothing in the way of sentimental attachment on either side. This seems always to have been the characteristic form of sex association of the races in the United States. Irregular sex relations have been common in all sections of the country and at all times that the races have been in contact.

In the United States, at least, responsibility for the existence of the mixed-blood population cannot be assigned to any one social class of the white

population. The ancestry of the group includes white persons of both sexes and all social classes.

In some sections and at certain times the slave population was quite systematically and effectively kept from association with outsiders. This was generally in the interests of labor efficiency and was relatively easy on the large and isolated plantations. The hybrid children in these groups were in large measure the result of relations between overseers, or other men of the master classes, and the serving women. In other sections the upper-class white men were a less important factor in the hybridization. It is, of course, a well-known fact that certain eminent men associated with Negro women and were perhaps the fathers of mulatto children. Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin are often mentioned in this connection and Franklin, at least, appears not to have been much concerned to conceal the association. There is, however, little reason to believe that members of the aristocratic classes were more active than others in this respect. In any case, from a numerical point of view, the great percentage of the mixed-blood individuals, as of other individuals, unquestionably came as a result of the association of the undeniably common people.

In the colonial days there was much close association between the Negro slaves, the free Negroes, and the white servants. In the beginning the social status of the slaves and indentured servants was

much the same, and a feeling of sympathy and fellowship existed between them. The free Negroes, Indians, and low-class whites fraternized with both groups. There was some intermarrying and a great deal of sexual irregularity. In some of the colonies, the illegitimate mixed-blood children were so numerous as to be a considerable social burden. Several of the colonies had special laws designed to prevent or discourage the sexual association of the white serving women with the Negro and Indian men.

The promiscuous relations between the low-class whites and the Negro and Indian women decreased somewhat during the national period. A bitter and general hatred of the Negroes developed among the poor whites in the slave states and this operated to keep the groups apart and to restrict the amount of intermixture. In the northern and border states the caste feeling was less pronounced, and a more friendly relation prevailed between the low-class whites and the slaves and free Negroes. The slave system itself, as previously pointed out, operated in certain ways to limit the number of racial contacts and to restrict the amount of intermixture. As a developed and working institution, it regulated very strictly the behavior of the Negroes; in so far as possible they were kept from association with outsiders and this, in a measure, prevented irregular relations with the general white population.

The mulatto population was increased by the intermixture of the Negroes and mulattoes with the Indians and Indian mixtures. The two races mixed freely wherever they came into contact. The social barriers between them were slight, there were no legal restrictions on intermarriage, and there were some positive grounds for sympathetic relations. Several of the colonies had a good many Indian slaves before the introduction of the Negroes. These came in part from the practice of selling prisoners of war into slavery and in part from the practice of kidnapping Indians along the unsettled coasts. In general no distinction was made between the Negro and the Indian slaves and their association was close and intimate. The Indians were not well fitted for slavery and as the Negroes increased they gradually disappeared through amalgamation with the Negroes. In several of the colonies the Indian-white crosses were an important element of the slave and free-Negro population. Especially in the French settlements the Indian women were commonly used as auxiliary wives and concubines. The nondescript free-Negro population included, in addition to the emancipated slaves, free half-breeds of Indian-white, Negro-white, and Indian-Negro ancestry.

One considerable segment of the Negro-Indian hybrids came to be classed with the Indian rather than with the Negro population. Many of the reservations set aside for the broken remnants of

Indian tribes became the common home of Indians, free Negroes, runaway slaves, border outlaws. The whites and Negroes often outnumbered the Indians and the settlements lost all but the tradition of an Indian ancestry.

In the cities and towns of the South the supervision and control of the slaves was of necessity much less strict than on the plantations, and their opportunities for association outside of the master's household were more numerous. The percentage of female house servants was high. The jealousy and antagonism between the Negroes and poor whites was less pronounced. The number of free Negroes and mulattoes was relatively large. These facts were favorable to rapid racial intermixture.

The emancipation of the slaves and the breakdown of the master-slave relationship was followed by a prolonged period of profound disorganization. Restraints were removed and the manumitted slaves wandered in celebration. The period was one of more or less unrestrained promiscuity.

In the more recent decades there appears to have been a slowing up of racial intermixture so far at least as primary race contacts are concerned. It is perhaps more a change in form than in reality. The intermixture goes on through intermarriage and through kept families as well as through casual contacts. The relations are most usual between white men and mulatto girls and between



mulatto men and Negro girls. The relations, less frequently than formerly, result in the birth of mixed-blood offspring. In the present day there is a rather active sentiment among both whites and Negroes to avoid interracial sex as well as other types of intimacy. For the time being this tends to retard the process of amalgamation.

In crosses of Negro-white ancestry the Negro type seems to have a stronger influence on certain of the physical characters of the offspring than does the white type. A hybrid Negro with one-eighth or even one-fourth of white blood may very commonly pass as an individual of uncontaminated Negro ancestry. On the other hand, it is only where the proportion of Negro blood is less than one-eighth that the evidence of bi-racial ancestry becomes obscure. In consequence, a great percentage of individuals with some white intermixture are commonly accepted as full-blood Negroes while in crosses in which the white predominates certain Negro traits are still obvious. The result is that the part of the population commonly classed as mixed bloods is more white than Negro, and the actual number of mixed bloods is likely to be somewhat in excess of any enumeration figures.

For the first four-fifths of the period that the Negroes have been in America there are no general statistics in regard to their intermixture with other

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races. Prior to the census enumeration of 1850 there are only occasional estimates and partial statistical reports of limited areas made for special purposes. In 1850 the census enumeration for the first time distinguished between mulattoes and full-blood Negroes. Similar data were obtained at the 1860, 1870, 1890, 1910, and 1920 enumerations. The number of persons reported as mulattoes was very different at the various counts but in general showed a tendency to increase rapidly.

MULATTOES IN THE AMERICAN NEGRO POPULATION

Census Year	Number of Mulattoes	Per Cent of Negro Population	Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks,
1850	405,751	11.2	126
1860	588,363	13.2	153
1870	584,049	12.0	136
1890	1,132,060	15.2	179
1910	2,050,686	20.9	264
1920	1,660,554	15.9	189

These figures, especially for the later periods, quite probably understate the number of mixed bloods. Many Negroes at the present time show evidences of white intermixture of which they themselves may not be aware. The fact that such individuals are, in some cases, classed by the enumerators as Negroes of full blood leads to the general belief that the percentage of mulattoes is very much higher than the enumeration figures show. It is often estimated that as many as one-

third or even one-half of the present Negro population are physically modified as a result of intermixture.

In the future a more rapid increase of mulattoes than of full-blood Negroes is of course to be expected. In both cases the growth is by natural increase: the immigration of Negroes has been a negligible factor in population growth since the Emancipation. The only source from which additions to the full-blood group may come is the marriage of persons both of whom are, in appearance at least, of uncontaminated Negro blood. But the mixed-blood population has several sources of increase. It grows by natural increase resulting from the marriage of mulattoes with mulattoes. But it is also increased by the intermixture of whites with both Negroes and mulattoes and by the intermarriage of mulattoes with either whites or Negroes. The increase in the number of mulattoes is thus in part the result of racial intermixture, in part the natural increase of the hybrid group, and in part a dissemination of the white blood already in the race. The growth of the mulatto group is thus in part at the expense of the full-blood group.

Obviously, there is an inevitable tendency for the Negro population to become more and more a mulatto population. The white blood in the race is spread by the intermarriage of Negroes and mulattoes and in each succeeding generation becomes more widely diffused. As this process goes on the

Negro type is slowly and imperceptibly modified. Sooner or later all members of the group will be more or less mixed. As this comes to be the case the whole basis for comparison is shifted. The standard is presumably the full-blood Negro. But the fact of full-blood is determined by color and other negroid characters. But in many sections there will presently be no Negroes of full blood. As this comes to be the case the darker and least changed members of the group are assumed to be of full blood and become the standard of comparison. Even at the present time, in some places, the separation into full-blood and mixed-blood Negroes is little more than a division between the lighter and darker members of the hybrid group. This will come more and more to be the case as larger and larger numbers are modified by traces of white intermixture.

The increase of the mixed bloods is, and will continue to be, somewhat more rapid than the statistics indicate.

The geographic distribution of the mulatto population is interesting and significant. In general the percentage tends to vary inversely with the number and percentage of Negroes in the total population of the section. The statistics are far from accurate but they show a consistently higher percentage of mixed bloods in the section with a relatively low percentage of Negroes in the population: the percentage is greater in the northern and

western than in the southern sections. This has been true at all periods and is to be understood as the result of three contributing factors. The northern group on the average has had a longer period of contact and intermixture. In the early days the slave population was somewhat equally distributed throughout the colonies. It was pretty generally contaminated by large infusions of European and Indian blood before the beginning of the heavy importation of slaves into the South. These later importations very perceptibly darkened the complexion of the group in the southern sections without effecting those farther north. Consequently, a relatively much larger percentage of the northern than of the southern Negro population is descended from the older importations. In the migration of Negroes from the South there has always been an excess number of mixed bloods. During the slave régime the freed Negroes, who were in a high percentage of cases mulattoes, were very generally required to leave the slave states. Many were taken out of slave territory and granted their freedom. In the northern migration of Negroes since the Emancipation the proportion of mulattoes has remained high. A third important factor lies in the nature of racial contacts. The amount of racial intermixture is conditioned by the opportunity for association, especially of the lower classes. This is, in general, greatest when the Negroes are least numerous as compared with the whites.

## RACIAL AMALGAMATION IN THE UNITED STATES

### PERCENTAGE MULATTO IN TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION: 1920

Division	Percentage
United States . . . . .	20.9
New England . . . . .	33.4
Middle Atlantic . . . . .	19.6
East North Central . . . . .	33.2
West North Central . . . . .	28.7
South Atlantic . . . . .	20.8
East South Central . . . . .	19.1
West South Central . . . . .	20.1
Mountain . . . . .	28.6
Pacific . . . . .	34.7

The mulattoes to a greater extent than the Negroes are an urban population. This is due in part to the relatively greater racial intermixture in the cities and towns than in the rural districts. The contacts are easier and more frequent and it is easier to conceal socially disapproved relationships. But the excess is due in some part to the selective nature of the urbanization process. In the slave régime the mulattoes were quite generally preferred as house and personal servants. There was a tendency therefore toward the urbanization of the mixed bloods. The same tendency exists at the present time.

A larger or smaller number of mixed-blood individuals escape the classification by passing as white persons. The actual number of persons who have left the race and been accepted as white is of course wholly impossible to determine. There is a tendency to grossly exaggerate the number. To the Negro such achievement has all the elements

## RACE MIXTURE

of romance and great adventure. It is a favorite theme in Negro fiction.

At the present time the number of mulattoes who leave the race is relatively small. It is, however, not entirely negligible. Persons with an eighth or less of Negro blood are quite commonly able to pass as white in society that is not highly discriminating and become an integral part of the white group. Very many other persons with only a trace of Negro intermixture are accepted in most relations of life as white though the fact of Negro ancestry may be known or observed. In many places in the South, well-mannered persons who are not too obviously Negroes habitually ride in the white section of street cars and utilize other public accommodations reserved for the white. Recently one of the most popular of the season's debutantes in a large southern city was a girl whose great great grandmother was a Negro. The fact, moreover, was one of common knowledge. Very much of "passing" is more a matter of acceptance or indifference than of actual and successful concealment.

The number of mulattoes who pass over into the white racial classification will increase as the race becomes more modified by continued intermixture and as the white stock is modified toward the Negro type. It will become progressively easier for light-colored mulattoes to be accepted as white as the physical characters of the white stock, or of certain classes of the white stock, are modified by traces of

Negro blood and by the incorporation into the population of large numbers of immigrants who are less sharply in contrast to the Negro people than were the old Americans of north European origin.

| The actual amount of Negro blood introduced into the white race through the incorporation and marriage of mulattoes able to pass as white is of course very small. It requires eight or sixteen or more such crossings to introduce Negro blood equivalent to that of one full-blood Negro. But each such case is a loss to the mulatto group and slows up by so much the process of amalgamation. Like the dark mulattoes who are classed as Negroes, the extremely light persons do not appear in the statistics of mixed blood.





SEX DISTRIBUTION IN THE MULATTO  
POPULATION



## SEX DISTRIBUTION IN THE MULATTO POPULATION

A RECENT government publication on the Negro population of the United States<sup>1</sup> brings together a vast amount of statistical information hitherto not easily available. Certain of the chapters, notably nine and eleven on "Sex Composition" and "Color—Black and Mulatto Elements," respectively, seem to throw some additional light on the subject of racial intermixture in its relation to the sex-ratio.

The figures for the total Negro population in 1910 show an excess of females in the ratio of 1,000 to 989. In 1900, the ratio was 98.6. A similar excess of females over males has been found to exist at every census period since 1840. The two enumerations preceding 1840 showed a slight excess of males, but the sex-ratios of these earlier periods were determined in considerable part by the fact that there was a larger importation of male than of female slaves and the figures, consequently, have no significance in the present connection.

An excess of females in a population is an exception to the prevailing rule. It is a well-known fact

<sup>1</sup>"Negro Population, 1790-1915," Bureau of the Census, 1918.

that the probabilities of a child being born a son or a daughter are not quite equal. The European statistics show a slight masculinity in the number of living-born children, the proportion varying slightly from country to country and, within the same country, from year to year. There is also some slight variation as between different conditions of life. But, in spite of fluctuations, the chances are slightly in favor of the male sex.

Owing to the higher infant mortality of males, the tertiary sex-ratio, as well as the sex-ratio of the total population, is somewhat lower than the ratio at birth. The males may even drop behind in absolute numbers though, under modern conditions of life, this is not usual except in the later age periods. Emigration, immigration, migration, war, urbanization, and other causes may and do bring about disturbances in the normal sex-ratio. But aside from such local and temporary disturbances, the numbers of male and female in modern populations are approximately equal. Europe is the only major division showing a population with an excess of females. In comment upon this exception to the general rule it is commonly assumed that emigration to other continents is an adequate explanation.

While the population of the United States as a whole shows a decided masculinity—104.4—there are pronounced class and regional variations. The conditions of life and work, operating through migration, make for an excess of women in the cities

and in the older settled regions and for an excess of men in rural and frontier regions and in certain industrial districts. In such cases the selective nature of the environment is so immediate and obvious as to furnish an undisputed explanation of the sex disturbance. Also, in regard to the distinctly immigrant groups which show an excess of men, there is no occasion to seek explanation beyond the immediate facts: the ratio of the sexes is determined by the relative number of the two sexes immigrating. But there are other groups in the population showing a disturbed sex-ratio the cause of which is less immediately obvious. There is an excess of females in the native white population of mixed parentage and in the native white population of foreign parentage. In the latter case it is extremely slight; in the former case it is marked—1,000 females to 985 males.

In these classifications by parentage and nativity there enter several sources of possible error. In the absence of information to the contrary, persons were classed by the enumerators as native and of native parentage. Doubtless some foreign-born persons were returned by the enumerators as natives. Also some may have been returned as native of native parentage who in reality were native of foreign or mixed parentage. Such errors would tend to be more common in the case of men than in the case of women, owing to the fact that the men, more frequently than the women, were away from home at the time of the enumeration. In some such cases

men were doubtless omitted from the count. And in all such cases the information in regard to the men was at second-hand or by inference. The tendency of the statistics of these racial groups of mixed and foreign parentage would be, therefore, to minimize the number of men and to exaggerate the excess of women.

There is an additional and more important source of error in enumeration statistics of parentage and nativity. The usual desire of the second generation is to be accepted as Americans. They are anxious to escape the stigma that in certain levels of American society attaches to the person of foreign origin. This desire on the part of the immigrant people themselves and especially on the part of their children would doubtless in some cases lead to misstatement in regard to a foreign origin or parentage and so reinforce the tendency of the enumeration itself to minimize the number of foreign birth and especially the number of those of native birth of foreign or mixed parentage. These facts apply to both the men and the women but they do not apply to each sex equally. Owing to their more numerous contacts with American men and ways, the men sooner than the women lose the superficial ear marks of alien extraction and sooner find it advantageous to conceal the fact of their foreign origin and ancestry. These purely social factors seem adequate to explain the fact that the returns of the groups show an excess of women in the ratio of 1,000 to 985 men.

## SEX DISTRIBUTION IN THE MULATTO POPULATION

In the Negro group the sex-ratio is little affected by immigration or emigration. In nearly all cases the Negroes are native-born Americans of native parentage. They are most properly comparable, therefore, with the white population of native parentage and with the native Indian population. In each of these other native groups there is an excess of males: the sex-ratio of the native whites is 104.2; in the Indian group it is 103.5. In the Negro population it is 98.9. The sex-ratio among the Negroes is, however, subject to marked regional and age disturbances. In the West the males are in excess in the ratio of 1,207 to 1,000; in the North the sex-ratio is 101.8. In the South the numbers are in the ratio of 984 males to 1,000 females. These variations are perhaps adequately accounted for by the phenomenon of migration: the males more frequently than the females undertake long-distance, interstate migration.

The process of urbanization, more than that of long-distance migration, has resulted in pathological disturbance of the sex-ratio. "Throughout the country the rural Negro population is predominantly male, the urban Negro population is predominantly female." In the urban Negro population, in 1910, the sex-ratio was 90.8; in the rural districts the males numbered 1,021 to each 1,000 females. A similar disproportion of the sexes as between the city and the country, however, exists in the native white population. The somewhat less



marked excess of women to men in the latter case is due to the fact that the native white population as a whole has an excess of males and is, more largely than the Negro, an urban population. In the excess of women in the urban movement the Negro people would seem to be responding to exactly the same stimuli and in exactly the same way as the white people. It is in no sense a peculiar race phenomenon.

The sex distribution by ages is likewise striking in its irregularity. The excess of females appears from the earliest ages: under one year the ratio of females is as 1,000 to 988. The ratio then falls with a single exception, admitted to be due to errors in the returns, to the age period of twenty to twenty-four years. Here the excess of females reaches its highest point—1,000 to 879. Above this age the excess of females again falls until during the later age periods the males are in excess. The excess of females during the years of early adult life is especially characteristic of the urban districts. There the excess is in the ratio of 1,000 females to 779 males; in the rural districts the excess is as 1,000 to 949.

It is only when we turn to the comparative sex-ratio of the black and mulatto elements of the Negro population that the significance of the excess of females becomes apparent. It is not the Negro population but the mulatto division of the Negro population which shows an excess of females. In 1910 the sex-

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ratio for the total Negro population was 98.9; for the black division of the Negro group, 101.9; and for the mulatto division, 88.6. The only other censuses that give comparable figures are those of 1860 and 1870. Both show a similar excess of females in the mulatto population. The excess of females is thus a characteristic of the mixed-blood branch of the race, not of the Negro proper. Otherwise stated, among the black Negroes there is an excess of males, among the mulattoes there is an excess of females. The excess in the latter case is sufficiently great that, in spite of the much smaller number of mulattoes than of the black Negroes, there appears an excess of females when the two groups are classed together as the Negro population.

This phenomenon is characteristic of every section of the country except the West where, owing to the highly immigrant character of the Negro population, the males are very slightly in excess. The contrast is shown in the following tabulation:

MALES PER 1,000 FEMALES		
Division	Black	Mulatto
South .....	1,013	877
North.....	1,050	937
West ..	1,296	1,041
United States.....	1,018	866

It is the excess of females among the mulattoes in connection with the fact that the mulattoes are

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to a much greater extent than the Negroes an urban population which accounts for the great excess of females over males in the Negro urban population. In the total Negro population the females are in excess in the urban and the males in the rural population. The same thing is true of the black division of the race. In the mulatto group, however, the females are in excess in both the rural and the urban population. In the latter the ratio is nearly ten to eight. The following tabulation shows the contrast in a striking way.

MALES PER 1,000 FEMALES

Population	Urban	Rural
Total Negro . . . . .	908	1,021
Black . . . . .	947	1,043
Mulatto . . . . .	810	931

Where lies the explanation of the sex-ratio pointed out? The excess is found in the groups of mixed parentage and in the Negro population, also known to be much mixed. The excess seems to be greatest in the groups where the ancestry is ethnically most widely divergent. There is thus raised the ghost of a former theory: the doctrine that crossbreeding produces an excess of females; that inbreeding produces an excess of males. It is to some such interpretation that the report seems to lean in the statement that "In a sense it is a natural ratio for this class of the population . . . ." It

seems unnecessary, however, to resort to this order of explanation; a sufficient causal explanation seems to lie in the social facts.

The first step in any rational consideration of the Negro group is some sort of division between the Negroes of relatively pure type and those obviously of mixed-blood origin. The former are Negroes because of ancestry; the latter are Negroes by choice or by force of social circumstances. When such a division is made, even on the basis of so imperfect a classification as that of the census enumeration, the ratio of the sexes in the Negro group proper is 1,000 females to 995 males. With this statement the whole problem, so far as the Negro is concerned, disappears. The excess of females is sufficiently low as to very certainly fall within the limits of chance variation and enumeration inaccuracies. Any new generation or enumeration may equalize or reverse the ratios.

But in the Negro group of mixed-blood origin the proportion of females is excessive. As in the case of persons of foreign extraction, omissions from the count would tend to minimize the proportion of men. The same thing would be true in regard to inaccuracies in the classification of persons with so little Negro blood that they would be recognized by the enumerator as Negroes only if they so returned themselves or were found in Negro settlements and homes. In the case of mixed marriages, the colored member of the union no doubt

frequently appeared in the returns as white. Since such marriages are much more frequently of white women and Negro men than the reverse, errors of classification would tend to a reduction of the number of colored men.

More important than accidental omissions from the count and inaccuracies due to imperfect classification is the custom of light-skinned mulattoes changing their racial status, identifying themselves with the white race, and passing as white men. The racial classification is a serious handicap to a white Negro. It bars him from certain occupations and associations and denies him opportunities that are open to others of no greater native ability. Many of these individuals as they come to early manhood move to new localities and report themselves as white.

The Negro man of the near-white type is far more likely to leave the Negro group and align himself with the white than is the near-white Negro girl. His opportunities to do so are somewhat better. He is more free in his choice of residence and associates. The near-white Negro girl may, and frequently does, work in an office or store and pass there as a white girl. But her friends and associates are most likely in the Negro group. Rather rarely does she sever entirely all connections with her Negro relatives and friends. Her marriage is pretty sure to be into the Negro group rather than out of it. In this case her connection with the white

world is over unless, as occasionally happens, both man and wife are of the near-white type and together leave the Negro for the white world.

It is just in the situation where it is easiest for the white Negro to become a white man, the city and the North, and where it is most usual for the change to be made that the discrepancy in the numbers of the sexes is greatest. It is also in those ages when the most white Negroes become white men that the greatest discrepancy exists in the numbers of the sexes. At the earlier ages they are simply members of their family groups. When old enough to migrate and old enough to realize the handicap of a colored skin in the competition for success, the youth is also at the age when it is easiest to conceal any non-striking racial features. These are the age groups where there is the lowest proportion of males to females in the mulatto population. In the higher ages the difference in numbers is less marked. This too coincides with the well-known fact that many Negroes who spend a time as white men return to become again members of their earlier group.

The difference in the number of men and women of the mulatto group who "cross over" is sufficient to be considered as an important element in accounting for the differences in the tertiary sex-ratios.



THE LEGAL STATUS OF RACIAL  
INTERMARRIAGE





## THE LEGAL STATUS OF RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE

THE contact of strange races seems everywhere to lead to their intermixture. The modern peoples are in every case mixtures of imperfectly blended ethnic types. In some cases they represent original racial unities contaminated by the incorporation of divergent stocks; in other cases they are linguistic, political, or other cultural unities resting upon a medley of ethnic divergence. Within each group marriage operates, on the whole, through selection and incorporation, to the establishment of a new racial homogeneity.

The existence of some racial differences within a population or between populations closely associated operates rather definitely as a sex stimulant. Moderate differences in racial type appeal in a very direct way to the universal wish for new and stimulating experience. The familiar holds no illusions and makes slight appeal. Intimacies within the family group, as between brothers and sisters and other familiars of the household, are so psychologically unstimulating as to lie for the most part outside of folk practice. The folk mind has, in consequence, generally looked upon such relations as somehow inherently evil and contrary to group

welfare. On the other hand, the effect of the unknown, strange, and potentially dangerous is highly stimulating. The naïve manner in which the adolescent boy's heightened interest in the unfamiliar gives superior status to the girls outside his village or immediate circle as well as the manner in which the nubile girl idealizes the strange man are well within the experience of every observer of the romantic comedy. Youth has no real interest but sex and the essence of romance is illusion. The psychological basis of exogamy as well as of the tabus on incest lie in the romantic possibilities of the strange and unexplored.

But the range of difference may not be great else the offended æsthetic sensibilities overshadow the sex appeal. Sex responses, and the romantic attitudes generally, lie very close to the disgusts. The imagery of contact and physical intimacy is ever an integral part of sex attraction; the repugnance to strange contacts, even in the absence of gross differences, is ever present in personal relations. Independent of cultural inhibitions, the tendency to avoid contacts may be greater than the tendency to court advances. In the presence of race and class differences, the imagery of romantic intimacy seems normally to be offensive.

The spontaneous negative reaction toward persons of a strange race decreases with familiarity. Habituation through association leads to the toleration of traits initially highly offensive; things at

first offensive become indifferent, they may even become in a manner attractive. At any rate, there is a decline, on association, in the early disgust reactions. At the same time the sex appetite remains an imperative urge. As the repulsion due to differences declines through familiarity the tendency to sex contact increases; the sex attraction overcomes the repulsion of race and culture difference. Often the subordination of the disgusts to an imperative sex urge is temporary. In those situations where there is a paucity of women, as in pioneer regions, there is a maximum of association with public prostitutes and natives. Such sex practices as sodomy and bestiality in prisons, army camps, and elsewhere illustrate how completely the sex appetite may dominate the disgusts. There is also a type of situation in which that which is normally offensive becomes stimulating: white prostitutes not infrequently have Negro lovers and white roués often keep Negro mistresses.

Aside from the speculations offered to explain the fact, racial intermixture takes place between the most contrasted human types whenever they are brought into contact and association.

In the matter of racial intermixture there is often a most striking contrast between the private behavior of individuals and the public sentiments. Opposition to the miscegenation of racial stocks is almost as usual as the phenomenon itself. In

America and many other places there is a strong popular disapproval of racial crossing and numerous legislative and other efforts to prevent or retard the process. The intermixture of the races seems to have begun almost as soon as the Negroes were introduced into the colonial population and popular opposition seems to have begun almost simultaneously. Miscegenation has continued with little change to the present day and the opposition has persisted, practically unmodified, in its intensity.

The first definite legislation appears to have been that of the colony of Maryland. In 1661 question arose as to the status of white servants and their children by Negro men.

Forasmuch as divers free-born English women, forgetful of their free condition, and to the disgrace of our nation, do intermarry with negro slaves, by which divers suits may arise, touching the issue of such women, and a great damage doth befall the master of such negroes, for preservation whereof for deterring such free-born women from such shameful matches, *be it enacted*: that whatsoever free-born woman shall intermarry with any slave, from and after the last day of the present assembly, shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband; and that all the issues of such free-born women, so married, shall be slaves . . . And be it further enacted: That all the issues of English, or other free-born women, that have already married negroes, shall serve the master of their parents, till they be thirty years of age and no longer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1637-1664, pp. 533-534; see, also, J. R. BRACKETT, "The Negro in Maryland," pp. 32-33.

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Twenty years later, a supplementary act provided that any free-born woman married to a slave by permission of the master should be free and her issue should also be free. It further provided that the master or mistress and the person performing the ceremony should be penalized by fine.<sup>1</sup> "Preventing marriages of white servants with slaves only led to a greater social evil, . . . Masters and society in general were burdened with the care of illegitimate mulatto children."<sup>2</sup> In 1715 and 1717 the penalties were made more severe. It was provided that any white man or woman who cohabited with a Negro should be reduced to servitude for a period of 7 years. Their children were to be servants for 31 years. The Negro or Negress concerned, if free, should be reduced to slavery for life. In further effort to stop the intermixture of the races, the General Assembly of Maryland in 1728 enacted the following legislation:

Whereas by the act of assembly relating to servants and slaves, there is no provision made for the punishment of free mulatto women having children by Negroes and other slaves, nor is there any provision in the said act for the punishment of free Negro women having bastard children by white men; and forasmuch as such copulations are as unnatural and inordinate as between white women and Negro men, or other slaves.

*Be it enacted*, that from and after the end of this present session of assembly, that all such free mulatto women, having

<sup>1</sup> HURD, "Law of Freedom and Bondage," Vol. 6, pp. 249-250.

<sup>2</sup> E. I. McCORMAC, "White Servitude in Maryland," p. 70.

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bastard children, either within or after the time of their service, (and their issue,) shall be subject to the same penalties that white women and their issue are, for having mulatto bastards, . . .

*And be it further enacted . . .*, that from and after the end of this present session of assembly, that all free Negro women, having bastard children by white men, (and their issue,) shall be subject to the same penalties that white women are, . . . , for having bastards by Negro men.<sup>1</sup>

In the Virginia colony there appears to have been effort almost from the beginning of slavery to prevent interracial sex relations. A decision as early as 1630 provides for the public confession and whipping of a white man servant for "defiling his body in lying with a Negro." In 1662 double fines were imposed for such offenses with Negroes. The early efforts however were attempts to preserve the public order and decency. The matter of racial intermarriage received definite legislative attention in 1691.<sup>2</sup>

For the prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may increase in this dominion, as well by Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, as by their unlawful accompanying with one another, *Be it enacted . . .*, that for the time to come, whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a Negro, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed from this dominion forever, . . .

<sup>1</sup> DORSEY, "The General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of the State of Maryland," p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. BALLAGH, "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," pp. 72-73.

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The law was made more drastic and inclusive by various later amendments and supplementary acts.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was not different in the other colonies. Wherever the slaves and low-class whites came into association, there was much clandestine sex irregularity between them and occasional cases of intermarriage. The public indignation expressed itself, among other ways, in the legislative imposition of penalties designed to check the practices by their vicious severity. North Carolina, in 1715, provided a heavy fine and additional years of servitude on any white person associating with or marrying a Negro and also provided a fine of fifty pounds on any clergyman solemnizing such a union.<sup>2</sup> The acts of 1741 supplemented and extended the scope of the law and increased the penalties. Massachusetts began similar legislation in 1705.<sup>3</sup> Pennsylvania passed a particularly stringent act in 1725 designed to prevent racial intermarriage and cohabitation.<sup>4</sup> The intermixture and intermarriage of the races everywhere aroused popular indignation and, wherever Negroes were numerous and cases frequent, there were legislative efforts to prevent this type of behavior.

The early opposition to racial intermixture continued beyond the colonial period and was expressed

<sup>1</sup> J. H. RUSSELL, "The Free Negro in Virginia," pp. 138-139 and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. BASSETT, "Slavery and Servitude in North Carolina," p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> HURD, "Law of Freedom and Bondage," Vol. 6, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> E. R. TURNER, "The Negro in Pennsylvania."



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in the marriage laws of various states. That the intermarriage of the races was often considered a matter of basic public importance is evidenced by the fact that six of the states—Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee—made its prohibition a matter of constitutional law.

At the present time, twenty-nine of the states have laws prohibiting the intermarriage of whites with Negroes or with individuals of other races. The list includes all of the southern and most of the western states. Illinois, Ohio, and New York are the only states having a considerable Negro population that do not have laws designed to prevent their intermarriage with white persons.<sup>1</sup>

The statutes of the different states are not uniform in their definition of the persons who come within the provisions of the law. They differ also in the severity of the penalties provided in case of infraction of the law as well as in several minor respects.

The constitution of Alabama provides that the legislature of the state may never pass any law authorizing or legalizing marriage between any white person and a Negro or a descendant of a Negro. "The Legislature shall never pass any law to authorize or legalize any marriage between any

<sup>1</sup> ALBERT ERNEST JENKS, "The Legal Status of Negro-White Amalgamation in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 21 (1916), 666-678; "Inter-marriage with Negroes—A Survey of State Statutes," *Yale Law Journal*, 36 (1927), 858-866; G. T. STEPHENSON, "Race Distinctions in American Law," pp. 78-101.

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white person and a Negro, or a descendant of a Negro."<sup>1</sup> The wording brings within the group into which whites are not allowed to marry any person having a Negro ancestor, no matter how remote. Any such marriage constitutes a crime for which either party must be imprisoned for not less than two or more than seven years.<sup>2</sup> The courts of this state have held that in order to enforce this statute one party must be proven to be of pure white ancestry.<sup>3</sup> The courts have also held that in any such forbidden union the marriage is void and confers none of the usual property rights.<sup>4</sup>

Arizona includes Indians, Mongolians, and Negroes, as well as their descendants, in the class into which the marriage of white persons is not permitted. Such marriages are declared null and void.<sup>5</sup> Since such marriages are null and void, persons living in these unions are guilty of open and notorious cohabitation which the criminal code defines as a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment not exceeding six months, fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, or both fine and imprisonment.<sup>6</sup> Under the caption "Prohibited and Void Marriages" the law states:

<sup>1</sup> *Alabama State Constitution*, Sec. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Code of Alabama*, 1923, Sec. 5001, as amended by Chap. 214 of the *General Laws* of 1927.

<sup>3</sup> *Rollins v. State*, 18 Ala. App. 354.

<sup>4</sup> *Locklayer v. Locklayer*, 139 Ala. 354.

<sup>5</sup> *Civil Code of Arizona*, Sec. 3837.

<sup>6</sup> *Penal Code of Arizona*, Sec. 19.

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The marriage of persons of Caucasian blood, or their descendants, with Negroes, Mongolians or Indians, and their descendants, shall be null and void. The marriage between parents and children, including grandparents and grandchildren of every degree, between brothers and sisters, of the one-half as well as of the whole blood, and between uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, and between first cousins are incestuous and void. Children born out of wedlock, or the relations thereof, are included within the prohibition.<sup>1</sup>

In Arkansas the marriage of white persons with Negroes and mulattoes is illegal and void.<sup>2</sup> Those living in such a union are presumably cohabitating in concubinage and are subject to the penalty for that offense, which is imprisonment for from one month to one year.<sup>3</sup>

California declares the marriage of white persons with Negroes, mulattoes, and Mongolians to be null and void. No license is to be issued for such unions.<sup>4</sup> No penalty is provided.

The statutes of Colorado provide that

All marriages between Negroes or mulattoes of either sex and white persons are absolutely void. This section extends to illegitimate as well as legitimate children; provided, that people living in that portion of the state acquired from Mexico may marry according to the custom of that country.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Revised Statutes of State of Arizona*, 1928, Pars. 3092-3093, R. S., 1901; Pars. 3837-3838, R. S., 1913; Cons. and rev. Par. 2116, Art. 1, Chap. 49.

<sup>2</sup> CRAWFORD and MOSES, *Digest of Statutes of Arkansas*, 1921, Sec. 7039.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 2601.

<sup>4</sup> DERRING, *Civil Code of California*, 1923, Sec. 60.

<sup>5</sup> *Compiled Laws of Colorado*, 1921, Sec. 5548.

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The law also provides that "Marriages valid where performed are valid in Colorado except that bigamy and polygamy are unlawful."<sup>1</sup> The criminal code provides a penalty of from fifty to five hundred dollars, imprisonment of from three months to two years, or both fine and imprisonment for infraction of the law.<sup>1</sup>

The law of Delaware does not permit a marriage to be contracted between a white person and a Negro or mulatto. Any such marriage is void. The guilty party or parties to such an illegal union are "deemed to have committed a misdemeanor and shall be fined one hundred dollars, and in default of the payment of such fine shall be imprisoned not exceeding thirty days." The children of such void marriages are declared to be legitimate. The law also provides penalties for licensing or solemnizing such marriages and for evading the provisions of the law by contracting such marriages outside of the state.

If any person authorized to issue a marriage license shall knowingly or wilfully issue a license for such marriage, and if any person authorized to solemnize marriage, shall knowingly or wilfully assist in the contracting or the solemnizing of such marriage, he shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined one hundred dollars, and in default of the payment of such fine shall be imprisoned not exceeding thirty days. If a marriage prohibited by this section shall be contracted or solemnized outside of the State, when the legal residence of either party to the marriage is in this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 5549.

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State, and the parties thereto shall afterwards live and cohabit as husband and wife within the State, they shall each be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished in the same manner as though the marriage had been contracted in this State.<sup>1</sup>

The constitution of Florida contains the provision that "All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation, inclusive, are forever prohibited."<sup>2</sup> In carrying into execution this provision of the constitution the statutes provide that such marriages are unlawful and that every marriage solemnized in contravention of the provisions of the act "shall be utterly null and void and the issue, if any, of such surreptitious marriage shall be regarded as bastard and incapable of having or receiving any estate, real, personal, or mixed, by inheritance."<sup>3</sup> The penalty provided in the criminal code for violation of the prohibition is imprisonment in the state prison not to exceed ten years or by a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars.<sup>4</sup> Any county judge who knowingly issues a marriage license for such a union is subject to a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars or imprisonment for a maximum period of two years.<sup>5</sup> For solemnizing any such marriage the officiating clergyman, priest,

<sup>1</sup> *Revised Code of the State of Delaware*, 1927, Chap. 85, Sec. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *State Constitution of Florida*, Art. 16, Sec. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Florida Code*, Sec. 5857, Jan. 23, 1832.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts* 1881, Chap. 3283, amended by Chap. 5140, *Acts* 1903.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 7563.

or public official is subject to a year's imprisonment or a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup> The law goes farther to punish adultery between a Negro and a white person by a similar fine or twelve months imprisonment.<sup>2</sup> An act of 1881 provided a twelve-months prison term and a maximum fine of five hundred dollars for a Negro and a white person of opposite sex to occupy the same room habitually.<sup>3</sup> Marriages between Negro and white persons solemnized prior to Jan. 12, 1866 are valid.<sup>4</sup>

The civil code of Georgia declares that marriage between white persons and persons of African descent to be forever prohibited and to be null and void.<sup>5</sup> The penal code provides that cohabitation or committing fornication shall be punished as a misdemeanor and carries a maximum fine of one thousand dollars, imprisonment not exceeding six months, or work in the chain gang not over twelve months, or any one or more of these penalties.<sup>6</sup> The Act of 1921 makes felonious and void the intermarriage of a white person with a person with an ascertainable trace of African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, or Mongolian blood and contained elaborate provisions for the discovery of race prior to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 7564.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 7565.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 7566.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 5863, *Revised General Statutes of Florida*, 1920, Secs. 3938, 3939, and 5419.

<sup>5</sup> *Civil Code of Georgia*, Sec. 2941.

<sup>6</sup> *Penal Code of Georgia*, Sec. 1065.

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marriage. The act was not enforced because of lack of appropriations.<sup>1</sup> The present law distinguishes the groups that may not intermarry.

Be it further enacted that the term "white person" shall include only persons of the white or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins. No person shall be deemed to be a white person any one of whose ancestors has been duly registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a colored person or person of color.<sup>2</sup>

The law of Idaho declares marriage between whites and Mongolians, Negroes, or mulattoes to be illegal and void.<sup>3</sup> The marriage being void, the parties thereto are subject to the penalty for cohabitation, which is imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not to exceed three hundred dollars, or both.<sup>4</sup>

In Indiana marriage between a white person and one of one-eighth or more of Negro blood is absolutely void without legal proceedings.<sup>5</sup> The penalty for knowingly violating the law is a fine of from one hundred to one thousand dollars and imprisonment from one to two years. Counseling

<sup>1</sup> MAY, "Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States," p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Law approved Aug. 20, 1927 as passed by the General Assembly of that year.

<sup>3</sup> *Compiled Statutes of Idaho*, 1919, Sec. 4596, as amended by *Laws of Idaho*, 1921, Chap. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Compiled Statutes of Idaho*, 1919, Sec. 8086.

<sup>5</sup> BURNB, *Annotated Indiana Statutes*, 1926, Secs. 9862 and 9863.

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or assisting in such a union is punishable by fine only.<sup>1</sup>

In Kentucky, by an act of May 16, 1893, shortly after the adoption of the new constitution, the marriage between a white person and a Negro or mulatto was prohibited and such unions declared void.<sup>2</sup> The courts have held that marriages between whites and Negroes, solemnized in other states, are not to be recognized in Kentucky. The courts have declared that a person is a mulatto in the meaning of the statute if one of his grandparents was a Negro,<sup>3</sup> and that no property right comes from such a marriage.<sup>4</sup> The penalty for violation of the law against racial intermarriage is a fine of from five hundred to five thousand dollars and, if cohabitation be continued after conviction, imprisonment of from three to twelve months.<sup>5</sup>

Louisiana prohibits marriages between white persons and "persons of color" and the celebration of any such marriage is null and void.<sup>6</sup> "Persons of color" include all those belonging in whole or in part to the African race.<sup>7</sup> Any marriage between persons of the Indian race and persons of the colored and black races is also prohibited.<sup>8</sup> Violation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Secs. 2879 and 2880.

<sup>2</sup> CARROLL, *Kentucky Statutes*, 1922, Sec. 2097.

<sup>3</sup> *McGoodwin v. Shelby*, 128 Ky. 377.

<sup>4</sup> *MOORE v. MOORE*, 30 Ky. L. Reporter, 383.

<sup>5</sup> CARROLL, *Kentucky Statutes*, 1922, Sec. 2114.

<sup>6</sup> MERRICK, *Revised Civil Code of Louisiana*, 1925, Art. 94.

<sup>7</sup> *State v. Treadway*, 126 La. 300.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts of Louisiana*, 1920, Art. 220.



law in each case is classed as concubinage. This is made a felony punishable by imprisonment from one month to one year.<sup>1</sup>

In Maryland marriages between whites and persons of Negro descent to the third generation are prohibited and void.<sup>2</sup> The penalty for infraction of this statute is imprisonment of from eighteen months to ten years.<sup>3</sup>

The constitution of Mississippi states that "the marriage of a white person with a Negro or mulatto, or person who shall have one-eighth or more of Negro blood, shall be unlawful and void."<sup>4</sup> The statutes of the state repeat the prohibition, declare all such marriages void, and provide that a party to such a marriage, upon conviction, shall be punished as for marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity.<sup>5</sup> An attempt to evade the law by going outside the state and marrying and then returning carries the same penalty as marriage within the state.<sup>6</sup> The penalty for intermarriage is a fine of five hundred dollars, imprisonment for not longer than ten years, or both fine and imprisonment. All such marriages are void.<sup>7</sup> There is a similar prohibition on the

<sup>1</sup> WOLFF, *Constitution and Statutes of Louisiana*, 1920, p. 398; *Acts of Louisiana*, 1920, Art. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Annotated Code of Public General Laws of Maryland*, 1924, Art. 27, Sec. 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. 27, Sec. 365.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitution of Mississippi*, Art. 14, Sec. 263.

<sup>5</sup> HEMINGWAY, *Annotated Mississippi Code*, 1927, Sec. 2727.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 794.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 1025.

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marriage of whites with Mongolians or persons having one-eighth or more of Mongolian blood.<sup>1</sup>

In Missouri marriages between white persons and Negroes and between white persons and Mongolians are prohibited and declared absolutely void.<sup>2</sup> A Negro in the meaning of the statute is a person having one-eighth or more Negro blood. The penalty provided for infraction of the law is imprisonment in the penitentiary for two years or in jail not less than three months, or by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, or both imprisonment and fine.<sup>3</sup>

The Montana law declares marriages contracted between a white person and a person of whole or part Negro blood, or a Chinese or a Japanese person, shall be utterly null and void.<sup>4</sup> These statutes were passed by the legislature of 1909 and have been in effect continuously and without amendment since that date. No specific penalty is provided but, since such marriages are void, any such union would be punishable as open and notorious cohabitation in the state of fornication by a fine not to exceed five hundred dollars, imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.<sup>5</sup>

Nebraska declares any marriage between a white person and a person of one-eighth or more Negro,

<sup>1</sup> "Negro Year Book, 1925-1926," p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Revised Statutes of Missouri, Supplement of 1927, Sec. 7299.*

<sup>3</sup> *Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919, Sec. 3513.*

<sup>4</sup> *Revised Codes of Montana, 1921, Secs. 5700 to 5702.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 11006.

Japanese, or Chinese blood to be void.<sup>1</sup> The marriage being void, cohabitation thereunder would constitute fornication. This offense carries a penalty of a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars and imprisonment not exceeding six months.<sup>2</sup>

Nevada makes the marriage of any white person with any person of the black, brown, yellow, or red races a gross misdemeanor<sup>3</sup> punishable by imprisonment of from six months to one year, a fine of from five hundred to one thousand dollars, or both imprisonment and fine.<sup>4</sup>

The constitution of North Carolina carries a provision that "All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the third generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited."<sup>5</sup> By statute all marriages between a white person and a person of Negro or Indian descent to the third generation, inclusive, or between a Cherokee Indian of Robeson County and a person of Negro descent to the third generation, inclusive, are void.<sup>6</sup> The violation of this statute is a misdemeanor<sup>7</sup> punishable by imprisonment of from four months to ten years, or by fine.<sup>8</sup> The courts of the state

<sup>1</sup> *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska*, 1922, Sec. 1491.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 9786.

<sup>3</sup> *Revised Laws of Nevada*, 1912, Secs. 6514 to 6515.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 6284.

<sup>5</sup> *Constitution of North Carolina*, Art. 14, Sec. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina*, Sec. 2495.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 4343.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 4173.

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have held that the ancestor of the third generation back must have been pure Negro if the descendant in question is to come under this statute.<sup>1</sup>

By a statute enacted in 1909 and since continuously in effect, North Dakota makes the marriage of any white resident of that state with a person having one-eighth or more Negro blood unlawful and utterly null and void.<sup>2</sup> Either or both contracting parties to such an illegal union shall be punished by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years, or by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, or by both fine and imprisonment.<sup>3</sup> A penalty of two years penitentiary imprisonment and a maximum fine of two thousand dollars or both is provided for any county judge knowingly issuing a marriage license for a white person to marry a Negro. A similar penalty is imposed on any person who solemnizes such a marriage.

Oklahoma makes the marriage of Negro and white persons illegal by the provision that

The marriage of any person of African decent, as defined by the constitution of this State, to any person not of African descent, or the marriage of any person not of African descent to any person of African descent, shall be unlawful and is hereby prohibited within this State.<sup>4</sup>

Any person marrying in violation of the statute is guilty of a felony and subject to a fine not exceed-

<sup>1</sup> *Ferrall v. Ferrall*, 153 N. C. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Compiled Laws of North Dakota*, Secs. 9582, 9583, 9586.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 9582.

<sup>4</sup> *Compiled Statutes of Oklahoma*, Sec. 7499.

ing five hundred dollars and penitentiary imprisonment of not less than one nor more than five years.<sup>1</sup> Severe penalties are also provided for the issuance of a marriage license for a Negro-white intermarriage or for solemnizing the marriage ceremony contrary to the provisions of the law.<sup>2</sup> The law does not specifically designate the status of such marriages but the courts hold them absolutely void in accord with public policy.<sup>3</sup>

In Oregon marriages of white persons with those of one-fourth or more Negro, Chinese, or Kanaka blood or any person having more than one-half Indian blood are void. "All such marriages or attempted marriages shall be absolutely null and void."<sup>4</sup> Violation of the law carries a penalty of from three months to one year imprisonment.<sup>5</sup>

The constitution of South Carolina states that "the marriage of a white person with a Negro or mulatto, or person who shall have one-eighth or more of Negro blood, shall be unlawful and void."<sup>6</sup> A statute specifically makes unlawful and utterly null and void a marriage between a white person and an Indian, Negro, mulatto, *mestizo*, or half-breed.<sup>7</sup> The penalty provided for any infraction of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec., 7500.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Secs. 7501, 7502.

<sup>3</sup> *Blake v. Sessions*, 94 Okla. 59.

<sup>4</sup> OLSON, *Oregon Laws*, 1920, Sec. 9721.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 2164.

<sup>6</sup> *Constitution of South Carolina*, Art. 3, Sec. 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Civil Code of South Carolina*, 1922, Sec. 5536.

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the statute is a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, imprisonment for not less than twelve months, or both.<sup>1</sup>

The law of South Dakota prohibits the intermarriage of any person of the African, Korean, Malayan, or Mongolian races with any person belonging to the Caucasian race. Any such marriage is null and void from the beginning.<sup>2</sup> Violation of the law is classed as a felony; the penalty is a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, imprisonment not exceeding ten years, or both.<sup>3</sup> To issue a license authorizing a racial intermarriage or to solemnize such a marriage is made a misdemeanor.<sup>4</sup>

The constitution of Tennessee prohibits racial intermarriage.

The intermarriage of white persons with Negroes, mulattoes, or persons of mixed blood, descended from a Negro to the third generation, inclusive, or their living together as man and wife, in this State, is prohibited. The Legislature shall enforce this section with appropriate legislation.<sup>5</sup>

The same provision is found in the statute law<sup>6</sup> which provides a penalty of imprisonment for from one to five years for its infraction. The court

<sup>1</sup> *Criminal Laws of South Carolina*, Sec. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *South Dakota Revised Code*, 1919, Secs. 128 and 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Constitution of Tennessee*, Art. 11, Sec. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Annotated Code of Tennessee*, 1917-1918, Sec. 4186.

is empowered to substitute a fine and confinement in the county jail for the prison penalty.<sup>1</sup>

The Texas statutes state that "It shall not be lawful for any person of Caucasian blood or their descendants to intermarry with Africans or the descendants of Africans."<sup>2</sup> All such marriages are null and void. The term Negro is defined to include persons of one-eighth or more Negro blood.<sup>3</sup> Infraction of the statute forbidding miscegenation carries a penalty of two to five years confinement in the penitentiary.<sup>4</sup> Persons married in other countries who remove to Texas are subject to the Texas law. It is specifically stated that any white person and Negro married elsewhere who live together as man and wife in the state "shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than two nor more than five years."<sup>5</sup>

In Utah, "marriage is prohibited and void between a Negro and a white person, between a Mongolian and a white person."<sup>6</sup> Such intermarriage is a misdemeanor<sup>7</sup> and is punishable by imprisonment not exceeding six months, a fine of not less than three hundred dollars, or both fine and imprisonment.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 4187.

<sup>2</sup> Act of June 5, 1837. *Revised Civil Statutes of Texas*, 1925, Art. 4607.

<sup>3</sup> *Penal Code of Texas*, Art. 493.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. 492.

<sup>5</sup> *Civil Statutes of Texas*, Art. 4627; *Penal Code of Texas*, Art. 492.

<sup>6</sup> *Compiled Laws of Utah*, 1917, Sec. 2967.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 8014.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 7905.

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In Virginia all marriages between a white and a colored person are absolutely void without legal process.<sup>1</sup> It is unlawful for any white person to marry any save a white person—one having no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian—or a person of other admixture of blood than white and American Indian of one-sixteenth degree or less.<sup>2</sup> The penalty for violation of the prohibition is imprisonment for from two to five years.<sup>3</sup> The courts held previously that a person with less than one-quarter of Negro blood did not come within the legal definition of a Negro.<sup>4</sup> They have also held that a marriage of a Negro and a white person performed in states where such marriages are legal is void under the laws of Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

In West Virginia intermarriage of white and colored persons is prohibited. Any marriage solemnized between a white person and a Negro shall be void from the time that they are so declared in a decree of divorce or nullity.<sup>6</sup> The statute provides further that "Any white person who shall intermarry with a Negro, shall be confined in jail not more than one year and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars."<sup>7</sup> Any person who performs a

<sup>1</sup> *Virginia Code*, 1924, Sec. 5087.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 5099a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 4546.

<sup>4</sup> *McPherson v. Commonwealth*, Va. 1877; *Jones v. Commonwealth*, Va. 538.

<sup>5</sup> *Kennedy v. Commonwealth*, Va. 1878.

<sup>6</sup> *BARNES, West Virginia Code*, 1923, Chap. 64, Sec. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 149, Sec. 8.



marriage ceremony between a white person and a Negro is guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars.<sup>1</sup>

In Wyoming marriages of a white person with a Negro, mulatto, Mongolian, or Malay is illegal and void.<sup>2</sup> The penalty provided is a fine of from one hundred to one thousand dollars, imprisonment from one to five years, or both fine and imprisonment.<sup>3</sup>

Statutes prohibiting racial intermarriage were formerly in force in Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Michigan. In repealing the former statute, Michigan substituted one which provides that all marriages heretofore contracted between white persons and those wholly or in part of African descent are hereby declared valid and the issue legitimate.<sup>4</sup> The other states in the United States have no laws prohibiting racial intermarriage. There is of course no federal legislation dealing with the subject, since the matter lies entirely outside the scope of authority of the national government.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gave to the Negro all the privileges and immunities of United States citizenship, and guaranteed to him the equal protection

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 149, Sec. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Wyoming Compiled Statutes*, 1920, Sec. 4972.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 4973.

<sup>4</sup> *Compiled Laws of Michigan*, Sec. 11367, as amended by *Public Acts of Michigan*, 1923, No. 7.

of the laws. After the adoption of this amendment, the question immediately arose as to whether the Negro, by legislation prohibiting intermarriage, was not being denied that equality which was guaranteed him by the amended constitution. Were these laws in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Many cases testing the constitutionality of laws forbidding miscegenation have been decided in state courts. These courts invariably have held such legislation to be valid. In general, the decisions upholding the constitutionality of the legislation have been based upon one or both of two grounds.

1. Marriage is a social and domestic institution which comes completely within the power of the state. Marriage is not a legal or a political right, and it is only with these rights that the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned.

2. Laws forbidding the miscegenation of races are entirely constitutional because they involve no discrimination. Such marriages were forbidden to both blacks and whites, and both blacks and whites were subject to the same penalty. So long as the penalty enforced against one race is not more severe than that enforced against the other, there is no discrimination.

Many cases have been decided upon this reasoning. In at least two cases<sup>1</sup> the constitutionality of

<sup>1</sup> *State v. Tutty*, 41 Fed. 753, and *State v. Gibson*, 36 Ind. 389.

such legislation was questioned upon the ground that it violated the obligation of a contract—an action forbidden the states by the federal constitution. But the Circuit Court and Supreme Court of Indiana have both held that marriage is not a contract within the meaning of this clause of the constitution, and that such legislation is a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state. The constitutionality of legislation prohibiting intermarriage has been upheld in many cases.<sup>1</sup>

The Supreme Court of the United States has never directly passed upon the constitutionality of legislation forbidding intermarriage. The Court did, however, cite the decision of the Indiana case mentioned above as a precedent in another decision.<sup>2</sup> In the case of *Pace v. Alabama*,<sup>3</sup> the Court passed upon a case so similar in principle that its decision may properly be taken as indicating the probable attitude of the court toward the type of legislation here under consideration. In this case the court held that a law of Alabama, prohibiting a white person and a Negro from living with each other in adultery or fornication, was not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, although it prescribes penalties more severe than those to which

<sup>1</sup> *Ellis v. State*, 42 Ala. 525; *Ford v. State*, 53 Ala. 150; *Green v. State*, 58 Ala. 190; and *Pace and Cox v. State*, 69 Ala. 231.

*Kirby v. Kirby*, 24 Ariz. 9; *Dodson v. State*, 61 Ark. 57; *State v. Tutty*, 41 Fed. 753; *State v. Gibson*, 36 Ind. 389; *State v. Jackson*, 80 Mo. 175; *State v. Hairston*, 63 N. C. 451; *State v. Reinhardt*, 63 N. C. 547; *In re Paquet*, 101 Ore. 393; *Lomas v. State*, 3 Heisk (Tenn.) 287; and *Exparte Kinney*, 3 Hughes 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537.

<sup>3</sup> *Pace v. Alabama*, 106 U. S. 583.

the parties would be subject were they of the same race and color. The reasoning of the Court was the same argument as presented above—there is no discrimination if the same penalty applies to both whites and blacks.

The fact that a number of states have no legislation forbidding marriage between persons of different racial origin should not be taken as evidence that such unions are approved or even that there is a general popular indifference to them. The absence of such legislation is rather an expression of the fact that Negroes and Orientals are such a negligible part of the population of several states and intermarriages are so very few that the question can be ignored. Moreover, the absence of such legislation is a source of some pride and it gives a certain feeling of self-righteousness that is luxuriously pleasing. The appearance of a liberal and cosmopolitan attitude, implied by the absence of restrictions on personal and private behavior, may be indulged in matters where the infractions of good taste and personal decorum are of infrequent occurrence and are confined to the lowest social stratum of the society. The public opposition to racial intermarriages is a fairly effective control even in the absence of formal restrictive legislation. One high public official in Massachusetts writes that "Intermarriages are very few chiefly because of the violent opposition of the public toward such marriages."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private letter.

## RACE MIXTURE

The Secretary of State of another northern state that has no statute concerning mixed marriages writes: "If I mistake not most judges refuse to issue licenses to marry in such cases."<sup>1</sup> Such cases occasionally come to public attention.

Antonio Biggs, Negro, and Miss Cecil Robinson, attractive white girl, were denied a marriage license Monday at the office of the Spokane County auditor.

Although there is no law in Washington forbidding such a marriage, Acting County Auditor Frank Glover said the County Auditor "has the right to ascertain whether the mentality of applicants for marriage licenses is sound, and I can but question the sanity of a white woman who will marry a Negro."<sup>2</sup>

Superior Judge J. A. Smith today issued a writ of prohibition against County Clerk L. E. Lampton, forbidding the granting of a marriage license to Tony V. Moreno, 24, a Filipino, and Ruby Robinson, 22, an American. The girl's mother had protested the marriage on grounds that Moreno was of the Mongolian race.

Under the California laws union of white persons with Mongolians or Negroes is prohibited. Judge Smith, visiting judge here from Calaveras county, in issuing the writ, said:

"There are only three main races of people. These are the white, yellow, and black. I hold that a Filipino is of the yellow or Mongolian race."

Since 1921, the county marriage license bureau here has issued marriage licenses for Filipinos and white persons under an opinion by the county counsel, but the Filipino applicants were required to submit affidavits that they were not of the Mongolian or Negro races.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Private letter.

<sup>2</sup> Associated Press dispatch, Spokane, Wash., Feb. 11, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Associated Press dispatch, Los Angeles, Calif., Feb. 25, 1930. Quoted from the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 27, 1930.

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Another recent dispatch recites in detail the experiences of a Negro and white girl in their efforts to find a minister who would solemnize their marriage after the license had been secured.

The public attitude gets frequent expression in bills to prevent intermarriage. A bill to prevent such intermarriages was introduced into the last session of the Wisconsin Legislature. A similar bill was recently introduced in Massachusetts, and another in Connecticut. Other attempts in recent years to pass laws prohibiting the intermarriage of Negroes with white persons were made in Washington, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. In some of these states intermarriage bills have been introduced several times. Bills have been introduced in Congress from time to time in the effort to prohibit intermarriage in the District of Columbia.

These various attempts to legislate against racial intermarriage, as well as the various laws and constitutional provisions already in force, are chiefly interesting and valuable as expressions of public opinion and popular sentiment. They leave no reasonable doubt that general white sentiment, wherever the matter is brought to public attention, is almost universally opposed to mixed unions. The legislation itself probably has no effect whatever upon the rate of racial intermixture.



## COLOR AND ACHIEVEMENT





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FOR three hundred years the Negroes have been an important element of the American population. During much of this period they have labored under certain peculiar and severe handicaps and their participation in the culture life and activity has in some respects been partial and interrupted. Nevertheless, they have contributed in full measure to the exploitation and development of the country's resources. Their accomplishments have been noteworthy and, in certain lines, in view of all the circumstances, often quite remarkable.

The group in America has produced a few men of real ability and a considerable number who have been eminently successful. Some individual Negroes have reached a level of achievement and recognition well above the average of the white population. The number of such individuals has not been large and, judged by objective standards, the order of achievement has in most cases not been high. It is a well known fact of course that no individual of the group has risen to a place among the great men of the world. Judged by European standards there has been no Negro of even secondary rank. No reputable student would admit that the race has produced any man whose accomplishments

have not been surpassed by scores of white men working along similar lines.

The paucity of men of high individual accomplishment is commonly cited as evidence in support of the position that the Negro is natively inferior to other men. The level of the racial culture has been low throughout the historic period. This may be due to a paucity of capable leaders and superior men in definitive crises. The scarcity of great men may conceivably arise from the fact that the race is inherently incapable of producing individuals of a high order of native ability.

In the face of the fact that the race has produced some men of ability and accomplishment, the answer is usually made that these outstanding persons are mulattoes and not Negroes. By implication or by direct assertion, their superiority, if admitted, is explained by the fact of intermixture. "The so-called 'Negroes,' who have in any way distinguished themselves above their fellows, are not full-blood Negroes, but half-breeds." "No full-blood Negro ever has been distinguished as a man of science, a poet, or an artist . . . " "The recognized leaders of the race are almost invariably persons of mixed blood and the qualities which have made them leaders are derived certainly in part and perhaps mainly from their white ancestry."<sup>1</sup> The position taken is that the unmixed Negroes are

<sup>1</sup> For the source of these statements and for other similar assertions, see E. B. Reuter, "The Mulatto in the United States," pp. 183ff.

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more or less completely incapable of high achievement and that the exceptions are spurious for the reason that they are hybrids rather than Negroes. It is the mulattoes, not the Negroes, who have produced the men who have risen above mediocrity.

The Negro writers and the race apologists have pretty uniformly failed to meet this position. The bare asserted fact of an excess of mixed bloods in the intellectual aristocracy of the race they have not been able to disprove and, in general, have not attempted to disprove. They have not separated the facts from the inferences drawn from them and they have not in general been able to analyze the logic of the position or the presuppositions upon which it rests. Consequently, to admit the general accuracy of the factual assertions has seemed tantamount to admitting the inference of native racial incapacity. Unable to refute the apparent implications and unwilling publicly to admit them, the writers have in general reacted in a personally characteristic way and on a typically emotional level. Mr. Washington, a shrewdly competent politician, always diplomatically avoided the issue by stating a general belief in the equal ability of the Negro and the mulatto.<sup>1</sup> Some writers have

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Washington, who was himself one-fourth Negro and three-fourths white, surrounded himself by mulatto advisers and assistants. The faculty of Tuskegee in his administration was composed almost exclusively of mixed bloods. The *Annual Catalogue of 1909-1910*, for example, shows the faculty to include 184 mulattoes and 9 black persons. No one of the black staff members was in an important administrative position.

resorted to personal abuse as a method of refutation; others have attempted to escape the inferences by a categorical denial of the primary fact. "As a matter of historic fact the colored people of America have produced as many remarkable black men as mulattoes."<sup>1</sup> More recently there has appeared a disposition to avoid the issue by grossly exaggerated statements as to the percentage of mulattoes in the Negro population.

It is not the intention here to discuss the significance of the proportion of mulattoes in the group of prominent and successful men of the race. It is sufficient to point out that the proportion has no necessary bearing on the question of relative ability. Personal success and prominence are the end results of a complex of factors in which native ability may or may not play an important rôle. From certain points of view the proportion of mixed bloods in the successful groups is highly significant, but it is not of necessity a pertinent datum in the controversy over relative racial ability. No legitimate inference may be drawn from social prominence to native ability. The general failure of the Negroes to realize this fact is the most fundamental element determining their hypersensitiveness on all questions of mulatto leadership.

The immediate inquiry is purely factual: the interest is not in the meaning or significance of the

<sup>1</sup> *Booklover's Magazine*, Vol. 2, p. 15. For other statements and references, see E. B. Reuter, "The Mulatto in the United States," pp. 186ff.

facts, but the bare question of the facts themselves. Is it true that black men are as numerous as mulattoes among the successful men of the race?

The percentage of mulattoes in the total Negro population, as given by the enumeration figures of 1920, is 20.9. Approximately one Negro in five returned himself as a mulatto or was so obviously of mixed parentage that the fact was patent to the enumerator.

On this basis of distribution, there should be four full-blood Negroes for each mixed-blood person among the prominent individuals of the race. The percentage of mulattoes is of course increasing and the mulatto expectancy at earlier periods would be a good deal lower than at present. In 1870, for example, 12 per cent of the Negro population was returned as of mixed blood. At that time, on the basis of their proportion in the population, there should have been among the leaders of the race one mulatto for each eight Negro men of equal prominence.

It is generally believed and possibly true that the percentage of mulattoes in the population is higher than the enumeration figures show: a good many dark persons of mixed blood may have been returned as full-blood Negroes. But even if this be true it is not particularly significant in the present inquiry. In the general population, mixed-blood persons of dark skin and pronounced features are

sometimes classed as full-blood Negroes, but the same thing is true of the same type of persons who are leaders of the group. Indeed, the error is probably greater in the case of men of some prominence: the Negroes tend to claim as many prominent persons as possible and it is often an asset to the ambitious man to be accepted as a man of full blood.

In the present discussion, however, nothing turns upon the close accuracy of the percentages. The same degree of rigidity of definition is used for the general population as for the individuals of note and achievement. The subsequent discussion, therefore, goes on the basis of the enumeration figures; the mulattoes are assumed to compose approximately 20 per cent of the total Negro population.

There is an almost complete absence of Negro names in world history. Of those commonly mentioned, only a very few are of an order of merit that would bring men of other races into prominence. The Negro races have had no period of independent civilization; they have developed no indigenous culture of high order; they have produced no military or political organization of consequence. They have been an important but a relatively passive factor in world history. The Negroes and their territory, with its abundant and undeveloped resources, have been objects of exploitation and sources of conflict among other groups, but the

race itself has not been an active guiding factor in human history. Politically, economically, militaristically, and culturally, the status of the race has always been low and it has played an insignificant rôle in world affairs. The individual Negroes whose achievements are a matter of historic record have been men transplanted in a foreign culture and assimilated to its mode of life and patterns of thought.

Alexandre Dumas, beyond all question, was the most gifted man claimed by the Negroes as a member of their race. He had one-quarter or less of Negro blood: one grandmother was a San Dominican Negress but whether of full or mixed blood is not known. The Russian poet, Alexander Pushkin, is frequently classed as a Negro and did, in fact, have a trace of Negro blood: his maternal great grandfather was Hannibal, the Negro of Peter the Great. These appear to be the only European men of eminence to have had a Negro in their known lineage.

Lille Geoffray, a man of a lower yet respectable order of merit, was part Negro. Nothing conclusive is known in regard to the ancestry of François Dominique Toussaint, the guerilla chieftain of the Haitian insurrection. He probably was not a full-blood Negro.

For most of the period of their residence in America, the great majority of the Negroes were slaves. This status gives an obvious and sufficient



explanation of the absence of men of accomplishment. A few individuals came into a little notoriety in connection with the activities of abolition societies and had some more or less active part in the concealment of runaway slaves. The fifteen Negro individuals generally named in this connection were all mulattoes with the single exception of Harriet Tubman. There is, of course, no reason to assume, on the basis of these activities, that these individuals were in any marked way superior persons.

There were a few Negro individuals during the slavery period who became known because of activities and accomplishments beyond the opportunity or capacity of the Negro generality. Phyllis Wheatley was apparently a Negro of unmixed blood. Benjamin Banneker was a free mulatto, as was also James Durham. Most of the conspicuous Negroes of the time were preachers. Of the seven usually mentioned, George Leile, Andrew Bryan, John Chavis, Lemuel Haynes, and Richard Allen were mulattoes; John Gloucester and Henry Evans were probably real Negroes. Frederick Douglass, the antislavery agitator, was a mulatto probably with some admixture of Indian blood.

With the possible exception of Douglass, none of the persons mentioned has any real claim to recognition. The list, however, includes the names of all Negroes of any note to the middle of the last century.

## COLOR AND ACHIEVEMENT

Since the Civil War all types of work have been open, at least nominally, to Negroes and whites on equal terms. In some lines their color has been an initial advantage in the struggle for success and recognition. In other lines they have met bitter and determined opposition. There has, however, been no insuperable external obstacle to their entrance and success in any vocation, and Negro individuals have entered and succeeded in the various lines of human effort. No individual of genius or rare talent has as yet appeared though there have been perhaps a dozen or twenty men of real ability. A considerably larger number of men have risen to prominence within the Negro group.

The problem here, however, is not to evaluate the work of these men nor to pass upon their ability, but to state the percentage of mulattoes in the group.

There have been various compilations of Negroes of prominence. A single one will serve the present purpose.<sup>1</sup> Some years ago a Negro magazine of wide circulation issued as a calendar a "Who's Who in Colored America." The publication contained the names of some 139 persons—presumably the real social and intellectual aristocracy of colored America. The names are reproduced here together with the compiler's designations of the several men.

<sup>1</sup> For other lists and more complete and detailed information, see E. B. Reuter, "The Mulatto in the United States," pp. 183-315.

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### WHO'S WHO IN COLORED AMERICA

CHARLES W. ANDERSON	<i>Worthy Public Official</i>
C. E. BENTLEY	<i>Pioneer in Dental Reform</i>
H. C. BISHOP	<i>Religious Organizer</i>
J. W. E. BOWEN	<i>Lecturer and Teacher</i>
R. H. BOYD	<i>Captain of Industry</i>
W. STANLEY BRAITHWAITE	<i>Poet and Interpreter of Literature</i>
B. G. BRAWLEY	<i>Author</i>
MISS H. Q. BROWN	<i>Elocutionist</i>
MRS. B. K. BRUCE	<i>Astute and Gracious Leader</i>
JOHN E. BRUCE	<i>Popular Writer</i>
ROSCOE C. BRUCE	<i>Educational Leader</i>
I. T. BRYANT	<i>Church Officer</i>
W. H. BULKLEY	<i>Efficient Educator</i>
HARRY T. BURLEIGH	<i>Maker of Songs</i>
MISS NANNIE H. BURROUGHS	<i>Organizer of Women</i>
WILLIAM H. BUSH	<i>Organist</i>
J. S. CALDWELL	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
JAMES L. CARR	<i>Able Advocate</i>
W. J. CARTER	<i>Able Advocate</i>
C. W. CHESTNUTT	<i>Man of Letters</i>
GEORGE W. COOK	<i>Financier</i>
WILL MARION COOK	<i>Musician</i>
L. J. COPPIN	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
W. H. CROGMAN	<i>Teacher and Kindly Gentleman</i>
HARRY S. CUMMINGS	<i>Political Leader and Lawyer</i>
A. M. CURTIS	<i>Surgeon and Physician</i>
JAMES L. CURTIS	<i>Minister to Liberia</i>
J. C. DANCEY	<i>Public Official</i>
FRANKLIN DENNISON	<i>Lawyer and Leader</i>
R. N. DETT	<i>Composer</i>
J. H. DOUGLASS	<i>Violinist</i>
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS	<i>Editor and Author</i>
JAMES REESE EUROPE	<i>Composer and Organizer of Musicians</i>
S. D. FERGUSON	<i>Venerable Bishop</i>
J. S. FLIPPER	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
T. THOMAS FORTUNE	<i>Founder of Negro Journalism</i>
S. C. FULLER	<i>Pioneer in Psychiatry</i>

## COLOR AND ACHIEVEMENT

HENRY W. FURNISS	<i>Able Diplomatist</i>
W. H. GOLER	<i>Educational Leader</i>
J. M. GREGORY	<i>Veteran Educator</i>
R. T. GREENER	<i>Pioneer Public Servant</i>
ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKÉ	<i>Publicist and Writer</i>
F. J. GRIMKÉ	<i>Preacher of the Word of God</i>
G. C. HALL	<i>Deft Surgeon</i>
W. H. H. HART	<i>Able Advocate and Defender</i>
J. R. HAWKINS	<i>Church Leader</i>
MASON A. HAWKINS	<i>Educational Leader</i>
W. ASHBIE HAWKINS	<i>Capable Lawyer</i>
ROLAND W. HAYES	<i>Sweet Singer</i>
L. M. HERSHAW	<i>Civil Servant</i>
L. M. HOLSEY	<i>Church Leader</i>
J. W. HOOD	<i>Venerable Prelate</i>
JOHN HOPE	<i>Teacher of Youth</i>
W. A. HUNTON	<i>Apostle to Young Men</i>
JOHN E. HURST	<i>Church Leader</i>
E. W. D. ISAACS	<i>Preacher and Publisher</i>
J. T. JENIFER	<i>Venerable Preacher</i>
HARVEY JOHNSON	<i>Venerable Preacher</i>
H. L. JOHNSON	<i>Public Official</i>
J. A. JOHNSON	<i>Apostle to Africa</i>
JAMES W. JOHNSON	<i>Writer and Poet</i>
ROSAMOND JOHNSON	<i>Composer and Orchestra Leader</i>
R. E. JONES	<i>Able Editor</i>
L. G. JORDAN	<i>Missionary</i>
ERNEST E. JUST	<i>Student of Living Things</i>
H. T. KEALING	<i>Teacher and Educator</i>
LUCY LANEY	<i>Protector of Women and Girls</i>
R. AUGUSTUS LAWSON	<i>Teacher of Music</i>
B. F. LEE	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
JAMES LEWIS	<i>Public Official</i>
W. H. LEWIS	<i>Lawyer and Public Official</i>
W. LOGAN	<i>Financial Officer</i>

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JOHN R. LYNCH	<i>Pioneer in Political Service</i>
E. MCCOY	<i>Skilled Inventor</i>
JOHN R. MARSHALL	<i>Military Pioneer</i>
CASSIUS MASON	<i>Preacher of Righteousness</i>
JAMES C. MATTHEWS	<i>Political Leader and Jurist</i>
K. MILLER	<i>Author and Critic</i>
JOHN MITCHELL	<i>Editor and Business Man</i>
W. E. MOLLISON	<i>Banker and Business Man</i>
I. T. MONTGOMERY	<i>Founder of a Town</i>
G. W. MOORE	<i>Religious Leader</i>
LEWIS B. MOORE	<i>Teacher of Teachers</i>
J. E. MOORELAND	<i>Builder of Men's Clubs</i>
E. C. MORRIS	<i>Baptist Leader</i>
E. H. MORRIS	<i>Chosen Leader</i>
W. R. MORRIS	<i>Able Advocate</i>
N. F. MOSSELL	<i>Hospital Founder</i>
LUCY MOTON	<i>Teacher of Courtesy</i>
ROBERT R. MOTON	<i>Organizer</i>
DANIEL MURRAY	<i>Bookman</i>
J. C. NAPIER	<i>Public Official</i>
FATHER ONCLES	<i>Priest of the Church</i>
H. B. PARKS	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
I. GARLAND PENN	<i>Church Official</i>
C. H. PHILLIPS	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
HENRY L. PHILLIPS	<i>Practical Apostle</i>
P. B. S. PINCHBACK	<i>Pioneer of Reconstruction</i>
R. C. RANSOM	<i>Orator and Editor</i>
J. B. REEVE	<i>Honored Preacher</i>
H. A. RUCKER	<i>Efficient Public Official</i>
MRS. J. ST. P. RUFFIN	<i>Pioneer Club Woman</i>
W. S. SCARBOROUGH	<i>Scholar in Letters</i>
E. J. SCOTT	<i>Able Secretary</i>
I. B. SCOTT	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
WILLIAM E. SCOTT	<i>Artist in Colors</i>
C. T. SHAFFER	<i>Servant of the Church</i>

## COLOR AND ACHIEVEMENT

R. SMALLS	<i>Hero and Public Servant</i>
B. S. SMITH	<i>Lawyer and Public Officer</i>
C. S. SMITH	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
H. C. SMITH	<i>Veteran Editor</i>
T. G. STEWARD	<i>Chaplain and Writer</i>
B. T. TANNER	<i>Venerable Prelate</i>
H. O. TANNER	<i>Artist in Colors</i>
MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL	<i>Lecturer and Leader of Women</i>
R. H. TERRELL	<i>Judicial Officer</i>
W. MONROE TROTTER	<i>Intrepid Agitator</i>
W. V. TUNNELL	<i>Preacher and Teacher</i>
C. H. TURNER	<i>Student of Living Things</i>
E. TYREE	<i>Bishop of the Church</i>
G. W. VASS	<i>Religious Leader</i>
W. T. VERNON	<i>Public Official</i>
MAGGIE B. WALKER	<i>Able Business Woman</i>
A. WALTERS	<i>Bishop and Leader</i>
WM. A. WARFIELD	<i>Surgeon and Administrator</i>
MARCUS F. WHEATLAND	<i>Noted Physician</i>
CLARENCE C. WHITE	<i>Musician</i>
FRED WHITE	<i>Organist</i>
G. H. WHITE	<i>Congressman and Banker</i>
BERT WILLIAMS	<i>Apostle of Laughter</i>
D. H. WILLIAMS	<i>Master of Surgery</i>
E. C. WILLIAMS	<i>Teacher of Youth</i>
W. T. B. WILLIAMS	<i>Social Student</i>
CARTER G. WOODSON	<i>Student of History</i>
J. W. WOODSON	<i>Able Lawyer</i>
MONROE N. WORK	<i>Social Statistician</i>
R. R. WRIGHT	<i>Noted Educator</i>
R. R. WRIGHT, JR.	<i>Editor and Student</i>
CHARLES YOUNG	<i>Military Expert and Brave Soldier</i>

This list contains the names of 8 women and 131 men. The women are in each case persons of

mixed racial ancestry. Of the men, 1 is probably a Negro of unmixed blood, 3 others are commonly accepted as Negroes and may be of unmixed descent. Two other individuals, often referred to as Negroes, are in reality dark mulattoes. Eleven other men are mulattoes with perhaps more Negro than white blood. The 116 names remaining are of men obviously and unquestionably of mixed racial origin. Some members of the group might without great difficulty pass as white men. A composite of the whole group of 139 persons would be somewhere between a quadroon and an octoroon.

To such a group there should be added a few names of an earlier date, notably, Ira Aldridge, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, S. Coleridge Taylor, and Booker T. Washington. Dunbar was Negro; the others mulattoes.

The foregoing discussion has included mediocre accomplishment, and it has probably omitted the names of some men of real ability and high achievement. But, with the exception of some few who have very recently come into prominence, it includes the names of most, if not all of the persons whose order of achievement has been such as to make them known outside of local and racial circles.

Approximately 160 men have been enumerated. In this group are the names of 8 or possibly 10 persons of relatively unmixed Negro ancestry. All others are mulattoes of varying degrees of intermixture. The proportion of mulattoes to Negroes

of full blood is about 20 to 1. But since the mulattoes comprise only about one-fifth of the total Negro population the contribution of the full- and mixed-blood groups to the racial intelligentsia is approximately 80 to 1. Moreover, at least 4 of the full-blood Negroes mentioned—Harriet Tubman, Phyllis Wheatley, John Gloucester, and Henry Evans—were very ordinary persons whose prominence was a matter of chance circumstance rather than of substantial accomplishment. If these be dropped, the contribution of the mixed bloods to racial leadership would be approximately doubled.

If attention be turned from the little group of men of more or less substantial achievement, as measured by objective standards, to the groups of men more or less conspicuously successful when measured by racial standards, there is still a preponderance of mulattoes. In the historical and the semihistorical writings of and about Negroes<sup>1</sup> mention is made of some 600 Negroes. The names for the most part are of individuals of very local and minor importance. Nevertheless, the mere mention of them is evidence that in most cases and in some way, however great or small, they were outstanding

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAMS, "History of the Negro"; DUBOIS, "The Negro"; BRAWLEY, "History of the American Negro"; GIBSON and CROGMAN, "The Colored American"; GIBBS, "Shadow and Light"; CULP, "Twentieth Century Negro Literature"; WILLIAMS, "New Negro for a New Century"; DuBOIS, "Philadelphia Negro"; WASHINGTON, "Frederick Douglass"; VILLARD, "John Brown"; WOODSON, "Negro Education"; DANIELS, "Freedom's Birthplace"; WASHINGTON, "Story of the Negro."



among their fellows. In the group there are approximately nine mulattoes to one full-blood Negro. Since the mulattoes comprise only about 20 per cent of the total Negro population, it would appear that they contributed some thirty or forty times their quota to the list of men selected by the biographical and historical writers as men of note.

In American military life and affairs the Negroes have had but little part. Three mulattoes but no Negroes of full blood have been graduated from the United States Military Academy. The few Negroes who have held positions of some importance in the regular army and in the National Guard seem all to have been mulattoes. In the Navy, so far as officers go, the race is not represented.

The Negroes have had a very minor part in the political life of America. Both before and after the Reconstruction period their opportunities along political lines were limited and local. The number of Negro names in this field is, therefore, very small. Moreover, they are hardly representative of the best ability of the race; like white politicians they are more often prominent than important. Nevertheless, they are outstanding men and the concern here is to determine their ethnic connections rather than to evaluate their ability. The two Negroes who served terms in the United States Senate were mulattoes. In the history of the country about a score of Negroes have been elected to the United States House of Representatives. Two of

these, Richard H. Cain of South Carolina who served in the Forty-third and Forty-fifth Congresses and G. W. Murray of South Carolina who served in the Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses, were real Negroes; all the others were men of mixed ancestry. John R. Lynch, himself a mulatto politician of the Reconstruction days, mentions 19 prominent Negro politicians of the period.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen of these men were mulattoes and four were black Negroes. The same disproportion is found in the list of Negroes holding federal offices and those in the diplomatic and consular service as well as other political appointees. The list of 177 Negroes who have held the most important elective and appointive offices since the Civil War includes the names of 22 who were probably full-blood Negroes and 155 who certainly were of mixed blood. In the political life the race thus seems to be represented by about seven times as many mulattoes as black. On the basis of their percentage in the total Negro population, and with office holding as the criterion of measurement, the mulattoes have been some twenty-five to thirty-five times as successful as the full-blood Negroes.

Minor mechanical inventions are very often made by machine operators and men employed in machine care and upkeep. Since the Negroes have not been employed extensively in the machine industries and mechanical pursuits it is not to be

<sup>1</sup> "The Facts of Reconstruction."

expected that their inventive accomplishments would be large. There are, however, a considerable number of minor inventions attributed to Negroes. About 50 Negroes are known to have secured patents from the United States Patent Office. Seven of these men were full-blood or nearly full-blood Negroes. The remaining 40-odd Negro inventors were mulattoes. This is a ratio of about 7 to 1 in favor of the mulattoes, or, taking into account their percentage in the total Negro population, about 25 to 35 mulattoes to 1 full-blood Negro.

According to the census enumeration of 1910 there were 3,777 Negro physicians in the United States. This profession, more than any other in which Negroes practice, is made up of trained men. It is true, of course, that most Negro physicians are very imperfectly educated and poorly trained men. But the medical degree does stand for something. In the profession a few Negroes have made more than a local reputation and others are outstanding in their communities and in the Negro Medical Association. John A. Kenney<sup>1</sup> mentions 68 outstanding Negro physicians. Of the names he gives, 64 are of mulattoes and 4 are of black Negroes. A more elaborate investigation gives about the same result.<sup>2</sup> Of the 246 most prominent Negro physicians, 15 were black men and 231 were mulattoes. In terms of outstanding success in the profession,

<sup>1</sup> "The Negro in Medicine."

<sup>2</sup> E. B. REUTER, "The Mulatto in the United States, pp. 259ff.

the mulattoes are about fifteen times as numerous as the Negroes. This however is not a strictly accurate comparison, since the percentage of mulattoes in the Negro medical profession is very high. In proportion to their percentage of the total Negro population, the mulatto is some sixty times as likely as the black Negro to become an outstanding physician.

The data are available and it would be possible to continue the comment through the various professions and skilled occupations. But it is unnecessary to do so; in law, teaching, the ministry, and in business a similar disproportion of mulattoes is found. The preponderance of mulattoes varies somewhat with the professions: where practice of the pursuit requires little training and small ability, such as the ministry, the number of black Negroes is relatively high; in the pursuits implying a somewhat higher degree of education and native intelligence, such as medicine, the number of black Negroes is relatively low. Among the successful Negro lawyers there are about 9 mulattoes to 1 black Negro; among the prominent Negro school masters there are approximately 13 mulattoes to 1 full-blood Negro; there are about 6 mulatto editors to 1 Negro editor; of the 357 Negroes who have made the greatest success in art, literature, music, and on the stage there have been about 25 full-blood or nearly full-blood Negroes to about 332 mulattoes;

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in business, the ratio is 7 or 8 mulattoes to 1 black Negro. In every line of endeavor, it is the mulattoes rather than the black Negroes who succeed. The disproportionate success of the mulatto is greatest in the pursuits requiring most ability, education, and training. Within any particular field of endeavor the percentage of mulattoes increases as the criteria of success are raised.

In proportion to the number of mulattoes and blacks in the total Negro population—using as a criterion the relative success of the two groups in the past and the present—the chances of a mulatto child making an outstanding success are fifty to one hundred times that of a full-blood Negro child, the percentage depending upon the degree of success and the accuracy with which the term “full blood” is used. If the term be defined loosely and mediocre achievement be accepted, the black child’s chances are perhaps 1 in 40 or 50; if the term be defined more rigidly and evidence of real achievement be demanded, the black child’s chances are perhaps 1 in 75 or 100.

Concrete inquiry into the actual facts shows the assertion that “the colored people of America have produced as many remarkable black men as mulattoes,” to be completely erroneous. The mulattoes, composing at present less than 20 per cent of the Negro population, have produced more than 80 per cent of the superior men of the race.

# THE SUPERIORITY OF THE MULATTO



## THE SUPERIORITY OF THE MULATTO

**P**ERHAPS the most significant fact regarding the Negro people in America is the degree to which the race has undergone differentiation during the period of contact with European civilization. From the low and relatively uniform state of west African culture there has come to be a degree of cultural heterogeneity not elsewhere observable among a primitive people. While the bulk of the race in America is as yet not many steps removed from the African standards, there has nevertheless arisen a considerable middle class, which conforms in most essential respects to the conventional middle-class standards of American people, as well as a small intellectual group, some members of which have succeeded in coming within measurable distance of the best models of European culture. Within the racial group in America at the present time there are represented the antipodal degrees of human culture: at the one extreme are the standards of west Africa; at the other, those of western Europe.

A study of the more advanced groups shows a great preponderance of individuals of mixed blood and a dearth, almost an entire absence, of Negroes of pure blood. In the numerous lists of exceptional



Negroes, published from time to time by Negroes, as well as by white students of race matters, there is a regular recurrence of a few names; the various lists are virtually repetitions. The dozen or score of men everywhere mentioned as having attained some degree of eminence are, in all but one or two cases, men of more Caucasian than Negro blood. Of the twelve Negroes on whom the degree of doctor of philosophy has been conferred by reputable American universities, prior to 1916, eleven at least were men of mixed blood.<sup>1</sup> Among the professional classes of the race the mulattoes outclass the black Negroes perhaps ten to one, and the ratio is yet higher if only men of real attainments be considered. In medicine<sup>2</sup> the ratio is probably fifteen to one, in literature<sup>3</sup> the ratio is somewhat higher, on the stage<sup>4</sup> it is probably thirteen to one, in music<sup>5</sup> the ratio is at least twelve to one. In art<sup>6</sup> no Ameri-

<sup>1</sup> A list of these men is given in the "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN A. KENNEY, "The Negro in Medicine"; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 334-338.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. BRAWLEY, "The Negro in Literature and Art"; "Negro Literature" (reprint from the *Fourteenth Report of the Atlanta Conference*). "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 403-404, gives a bibliography of books by Negro writers; see also D. W. CULP, "Twentieth Century Negro Literature or Cyclopaedia of Thought by One Hundred of America's Greatest Negroes."

<sup>4</sup> BRAWLEY, "The Negro in Literature and Art," pp. 39ff.; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 276-277.

<sup>5</sup> JAMES W. JOHNSON, "The Negro of Today in Music," *Charities*, Vol. 15, pp. 58-59; BRAWLEY, "The Negro in Literature and Art," pp. 53ff.; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 266-270; "The American History and Encyclopaedia of Music," "Negro Music and Negro Minstrelsy," Vol. 8, pp. 49-70.

<sup>6</sup> BRAWLEY, "The Negro in Literature and Art," pp. 44ff.; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 273-275; W. F. O'DONNELL, "Meta Vaux Warrick; Sculptor of Horrors," *The World Today*, Vol. 13, pp. 1139-1145.

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can Negro of full blood has so far found a place among the successful. In politics,<sup>1</sup> the ministry,<sup>2</sup> and other occupations in which success is in no way conditioned by education or ability the proportion of mulattoes to black Negroes is somewhat less, though still high. In politics the ratio is at least seven to one, and even in the ministry it is not less than five to one. The successful business men of the race are in nearly all cases men of a bi-racial ancestry.<sup>3</sup> Among the successful men in every field of human effort which Negroes have entered there is the same disproportion between the numbers of pure- and mixed-blood individuals.

If the attention be turned from the present situation to the ethnic composition of the exceptional Negroes of the previous decades, the same preponderance of mulattoes is disclosed. The few Negroes who gained prominence during the slave régime—itinerant preachers, runaway slaves, insurrectionists, and the like—were most frequently from the mixed-blood group.<sup>4</sup> The little group of

<sup>1</sup>J. R. LYNCH, "The Facts of Reconstruction"; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 151-153; BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, "Frederick Douglass," pp. 279-280.

<sup>2</sup>"Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 170-183.

<sup>3</sup>The life membership of the National Negro Business League includes practically every American Negro who has made any exceptional success in a business way. Each annual report of the league carries a list of the life members; see also BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, "The Negro in Business," and "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 300-310.

<sup>4</sup>"Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 170-175; WILLIAM STILL, "The Underground Railroad."

Negroes who gained some notoriety through their being exploited by the abolitionists were mulattoes in all cases but one.<sup>1</sup> The group of Negroes who rose to a transient prominence during the Reconstruction period were in very few cases men of unmixed Negro blood.<sup>2</sup> In all times in the history of the American Negro and in all fields of human effort in which the Negroes have entered, the successful individuals, with very few exceptions, have been mulattoes. The black Negroes, either past or present, who have made any marked degree of success are decidedly rare exceptions.

Nor is this a peculiarity of the American racial situation. The same thing seems to be true in other countries in which a mixed-blood race exists alongside a pure-blood native race. Boaz,<sup>3</sup> pointing out the "relatively high degree of culture" attained by certain African tribes in western Soudan, owing to their contact with the invading Arabs, remarks: "The invaders intermarried with the natives; and the mixed races, some of which are almost purely Negro, have risen high above the level of other African Negroes."<sup>4</sup> In South Africa the mulattoes are on a distinctly higher cultural level than are

<sup>1</sup> A brief sketch of each of these men is given in the "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 102-106.

<sup>2</sup> BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, "Negro Disfranchisement and the Negro in Business," *Outlook*, Vol. 8, pp. 311ff.; "Negro Year Book, 1914-1915," pp. 151ff.

<sup>3</sup> FRANZ BOAZ, "The Mind of Primitive Man," pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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the natives of unmixed blood.<sup>1</sup> In the British West Indies the more cultured mulattoes have been formed into a middle-class group, separated from, and superior to, the black peasantry.<sup>2</sup> The individuals of the race who have risen to prominence in political or professional affairs have been members of the mixed-blood caste. In north Brazil the mixed-blood group of Portuguese, Indian, and Negro ancestry are on a distinctly higher social and intellectual plane than are either the Negroes or the native Indians.<sup>3</sup> In Mexico and elsewhere in Central and South America the half-breeds form a more or less distinct and separate class somewhat inferior to the whites and distinctly superior to the pure-blood natives.<sup>4</sup> In the Philippines the half-castes of Chinese-Moro, as well as those of Spanish-Moro, origin are well in advance, intellectually, of the pure-blood natives.<sup>5</sup> Every man of the Filipino

<sup>1</sup> H. E. S. FREEMANTLE, "The New Nation," pp. 217-218; M. S. EVANS, "Black and White in South East Africa," pp. 289-290; ELISÉE RECLUS, "Africa," Vol. 4, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM THORP, "How Jamaica Solves the Negro Problem," *World's Work*, Vol. 8, pp. 4908-4913; W. P. LIVINGSTONE, "The West Indian and American Negro," *North American Review*, Vol. 185, p. 647; A. F. STONE, "Studies in the American Race Problem," p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> JEAN BAPTISTE DE LACERDA, "The *Metis* or Half-Breeds of Brazil," in "Inter-racial Problems," pp. 280-282; JAMES BRYCE, "South America," pp. 492, 565; "The South American Year Book, 1915," p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. KOEBEL, "The South Americans," p. 97; "The South American Year Book, 1915," pp. 7, 503; Sir HARRY H. JOHNSTON, "The Negro in the New World," pp. 332-337; BRYCE, "South America," pp. 470-471.

<sup>5</sup> CHARLES E. WOODRUFF, "Some Laws of Racial and Intellectual Development," *Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 3, p. 175; FRIEDRICH RATZEL, "The History of Mankind," A. J. Butler's English Translation, Vol. 1, p. 397; JAMES A. LEROY, "The Americans in the Philippines," p. 76.

group who has risen above mediocrity under the Spanish, as under the American, occupancy of the islands has been a man of bi-racial ancestry.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere the same thing is true. The mixed-blood race everywhere occupies a higher status than does its darker-colored racial parent, and it is from the ranks of the mixed bloods that the superior individuals who appear from time to time among the backward races have sprung.

In view of the great number of Negro people in the United States, both of pure and of mixed blood, and of their relative cultural retardation, it is a matter of first-rate importance to know the cause of the observed condition. Is it due to causes which are temporary in their action and itself, consequently, a phenomenon that will pass as the Negro people are more completely assimilated by European culture and approach more nearly to the cultural standards of the white race? Or is this superiority of the mixed-blood man an expression of forces, inherent in the race or in the conditions of the social contact of dissimilar peoples, which the educational, economic, and moral advances of the race will leave relatively unaltered? Is the mixed-blood group to remain the superior class within, or caste above, the race and to furnish the intellectually capable men during the entire period

<sup>1</sup> A. E. JENKS, "Assimilation in the Philippines, as Interpreted in Terms of Assimilation in America," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 783; CARL CROW, "What about the Filipinos?" *World's Work*, Vol. 26, pp. 519, 523.

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required for the race to lose its distinctive racial traits and to disappear within the general population? We will confine ourselves to the American situation.

The most simple and obvious means of accounting for the observed superiority of the mulattoes is to deny the equality of the parent races and to attribute the superiority of the mixed-blood individuals to the fact of a superior racial heredity. To the great majority of men it has always appeared quite obvious that in point of mental capacity there was a distinct difference in the races: cultured man has always regarded primitive man as inferior. Europeans have always assumed that the white race was endowed by nature with a superior order of intelligence. This commonly accepted explanation, however, fails to explain. The assumption of superior mental capacity on the part of the white man rests upon the tacit assumption that those peoples are superior who are most advanced in civilization. The achievements of the white race and its leadership throughout the whole of historic times marks them as superior; the assumption of the inherent mental incapacity of the Negro race finds its basis and justification in the fact that the race has occupied an inferior cultural level throughout the historic period. On the other hand, the differences in institutions, cultural achievement, and social development among races are accounted for in terms of the mental capacity of the peoples con-

cerned and of their capacity for progress. Obviously such circuitry leads nowhere.

The lower culture of the Negro peoples is of course a simple observational fact and is to be accepted as such. To question it is to deny the obvious. But to draw from it the conclusion that the race is incapable of higher culture or that the inferior culture is the necessary expression of inferior racial capacity is equally unjustifiable. The relative mental ability of peoples cannot always be measured by their comparative achievement in civilization. Inferior culture of long standing does, indeed, create a presumption of inferior native capacity—it puts the burden of proof on the side of those who assert the equality of the races and deny the inherent mental capacity of the peoples of lower culture—but it is by no means a conclusive demonstration of the fact. It is necessary to distinguish between the possibilities inherent in a people and their actual attainments. The possession of inferior civilization in itself proves nothing in regard to the race's capacity for cultural advancement. The fact must be taken in connection with the opportunity which the race has had for the acquisition of civilization. Achievement alone is not a test. Culture is a social product, not a biological fact. Its absence from a race no more proves that the ability to acquire the culture is missing from the race than the absence of higher education in the individual proves his mental incapacity to receive such train-

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ing. Achievement is of course the final test of capacity. Ultimately there is no way of measuring the capacity of races or of individuals save by what they are able to do. But achievement in the presence of unlike conditions is not a measure of capacity for civilization.

It is not meant, however, to deny that the Negro race may represent a somewhat lesser degree of native capacity than is the case with some other races. That such is the case is the practically unanimous opinion of writers who have any first-hand knowledge of the race in America, as well as of psychologists and educators who have used quantitative methods of inquiry in their study of the Negro. It is especially the conclusion of those investigators who have attacked the problem from the point of view of modern experimental psychology. Put to the test of psychological and educational experiment, the Negro has not, in the higher mental processes at least, displayed a capacity equal to that of the white. Mayo,<sup>1</sup> on the basis of an investigation of the marks of the Negro and white high-school students of New York City found the efficiency of the Negro children to be 76 per cent of that of the white children. Phillips,<sup>2</sup> studying

<sup>1</sup> MARION JACOB MAYO, "The Mental Capacity of the American Negro" (reprinted from the *Archives of Psychology*, No. 28).

<sup>2</sup> B. A. PHILLIPS, "Retardation in the Elementary Schools of Philadelphia," *Psychological Clinic*, Vol. 6, pp. 79-90; also "The Binet Tests Applied to Colored Children," *ibid.*, Vol. 8, pp. 190-196.



retardation in the public schools of Philadelphia, discovered differences sufficient to cause him to question the advisability of the attempt to use a common course of study for the education of the two races. Strong and Morse,<sup>1</sup> by means of the Binet tests, found the Negro children inferior to the whites in all except rote memory. Baldwin,<sup>2</sup> using the substitution test on delinquent Negro and white girls, found the Negroes decidedly inferior. Pyle,<sup>3</sup> in a preliminary report on an important study by means of a number of standard tests, places the Negro child as three-fourths as efficient as the white. Ferguson,<sup>4</sup> using a series of tests of the higher intellectual capacities on Negro and white school children of Virginia, found the Negro children 75 per cent as efficient as the white. Other investigators report similar results. Every experimental study so far made has found the Negro child to be psychologically different from the white.

The matter, however, is only beginning to be investigated in a scientific way, and the conclusions reached are still highly tentative. As yet the studies

<sup>1</sup> J. MORSE, "A Comparison of White and Colored Children Measured by the Binet Scale of Intelligence," *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 84, pp. 75-79; A. C. STRONG, "Three Hundred Fifty White and Colored Children Measured by the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence," *Pedagogical Seminar*, Vol. 20, pp. 485-515.

<sup>2</sup> B. T. BALDWIN, "The Learning of Delinquent Adolescent Girls as Shown by a Substitution Test," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 4, pp. 317-322.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. PYLE, "Examination of School Children"; also "The Mind of the Negro Child," *School and Society*, Vol. I, pp. 357-360.

<sup>4</sup> G. O. FERGUSON, JR., "The Psychology of the Negro" (reprinted from the *Archives of Psychology*, No. 36).

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are too few to be at all conclusive, and the results have in general been reached through the application of a scientific technique which is itself as yet but an imperfect tool.

But on the basis of these findings—that is, on the assumption of the inequality of the races—the superiority of the mulattoes is presumably explained: they are more capable because they have a superior racial heredity. In intellectual capacity the mulatto should, on the average, depart from the Negro and approach the capacity of the white in the ratio that the Negro intermixture decreased and the white intermixture increased. On the basis of Ferguson's figures the Negro would be 60, 70, 80, or 90 per cent as efficient as the white, depending upon whether he was a full-blood Negro, a sambo, a mulatto, or a quadroon. These proportions might be somewhat modified, owing to the fact that the mixed-blood race appears to be somewhat more variable than the pure blacks, but in general the expectation is about as stated.

The experimental findings, however, do not square in all respects with the objective facts.

Unfortunately, most of the investigators have neglected to distinguish between individuals of pure and individuals of mixed blood, though several of them recognize that such neglect detracted from the value of their findings. Ferguson, however, classified his cases and calculated the expectancy of great men

in the pure- and mixed-blood groups.<sup>1</sup> His experiments showed the intellectual capacity of the general Negro population to be approximately three-fourths that of the white. The intellectual efficiency varied, however, from 60 to 90 per cent directly with the amount of white intermixture. On the basis of Galton's "law of deviation from the average" he undertook to compute the number of eminent men to be expected from the whites, the mulattoes, and the pure blood Negroes. The standard of eminence was that of Galton.<sup>2</sup> If each of the three groups were of equal mental capacity, the number of eminent men would be 4,464 white, 397 pure-blood Negroes, and 99 mulattoes. But, on the basis of his assumption that the pure-blood Negroes were 75 per cent and the Negroes of mixed blood were 87.5 per cent as intellectually capable as the whites, there should be in 1,000,000 of each group, 248 eminent white men, 15 eminent mulattoes, and 1 eminent pure-blood Negro. Or, considering the ratio of these three classes in the total population of the United States, there would be 4,464 eminent white men, 6 eminent mulattoes, and 2 eminent men of pure Negro blood. That is, on the basis of Ferguson's findings, the expectancy of great men among the race in America is in the ratio of 3 mulattoes to 1 black Negro. Stated in another way,

<sup>1</sup> FERGUSON, "The Psychology of the Negro," Chap. IV.

<sup>2</sup> The degree of intellectual attainment reached by one man in each 4,300 of the European white population: 248 eminent men to each 1,000,000 in the general population.

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the chances of any child of mixed blood, chosen at random from the general mulatto population, later reaching a degree of distinction that would entitle him to be ranked as eminent is fifteen times as great as would be the chances of a full-blood black child similarly chosen.

There are perhaps no full-blood Negroes in America today whose attainments are such as to admit them to the class of "eminent men" as Galton defined the term. It is not possible, therefore, directly to verify the accuracy of Ferguson's calculation. But if a lesser degree of superiority be taken—if the standard be lowered to a point which will admit a group of men sufficiently large for comparative purposes—the ratio of mulattoes to black Negroes is out of all comparison to Ferguson's ratio of expectancy for the appearance of "eminence." The "Who's Who" referred to in the preceding paper may be taken as a group for comparison. The list contains a few names which should have been excluded, and it excludes the names of a few men who certainly rank among the first 100 American Negroes, but such revision would not change the ratio of the colors. The list, as it stands, contains 139 names. Four of these are names of Negroes of pure or nearly pure blood. The ratio of mulattoes to full-blood Negroes is thus approximately 35 to 1. Or, considering the ratio of the blacks and the mixed bloods in the total population of the country, the ratio is approximately 140 to 1.

This is nearly ten times the expectancy according to the experimental findings. Otherwise stated, the chances of a mulatto child, taken at random from the general mulatto population, later displaying a degree of mental excellence represented by the "Who's Who" is probably 140 times as great as would be the chances of a black child chosen in a similar manner from the general black population. On the assumption that "eminent" men will appear in the two groups in the same proportion as do talented men of a lesser rank, the existing ratio appears to be nine or ten times the expectancy.

The popular assumption of a difference in the mental capacity in the races seems to be borne out, in part at least, by the results of such psychological and educational studies as have been undertaken. But the investigation is still in its initial stage. Further refinement in the technique by which the studies are made may show that all modifying cultural elements have not been eliminated. Further studies may therefore reverse or modify the tentative conclusions so far reached, or they may verify them, or even demonstrate the existence of a wider divergence between the races than is now thought to be the case. While the work so far done along these experimental lines seems to justify a presumption of race difference, the demonstration is not yet complete. The question is still an open one. But, even granting all that the studies seem to show, the difference in capacity is not sufficient to

account for the observed divergence in status and attainments between the yellow and the black groups.

A different explanation would seem to lie with those who approach the problem from the point of view of ethnology and folk psychology. Here the weight of authority has, until recently at least, been on the side of an unequal native capacity and possibility of mental development among races. But the consensus of scholarly opinion at the present time seems to be to regard the backward races, not only as not having been proven to be inferior in mental ability, but as being, in so far at least as their inherited mental capacity is concerned, substantially equal to the culture races. "An impartial investigator," says Spiller,<sup>1</sup> "would be inclined to look upon the various important peoples of the world as, to all intents and purposes, essentially equals in intellect, enterprise, morality, and physique." Boaz,<sup>2</sup> striving to minimize the significance of racial differences, holds that the differences in civilization are essentially a matter of time and are sufficiently explained by the laws of chance and the general course of historical events. Ratzel<sup>3</sup> states that the difference is "purely one of ethnography and civilization" and that "the study of comparative ethnology in recent years has tended to di-

<sup>1</sup> G. SPILLER, "The Problem of Race Equality," in "Interracial Problems," p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "The Mind of Primitive Man," pp. 6ff.

<sup>3</sup> "History of Mankind," Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

minish the weight of traditionally accepted views of anthropologists as to race distinctions." Thomas<sup>1</sup> would seem to find the fundamental explanation of the difference in the mental life of two groups in that the run of attention has been along different lines and to the emergence at fortunate intervals of great personalities. "The most significant fact for Aryan development is the emergence among the Greeks of a number of eminent men who developed logic, the experimental method, and philosophic interest, and fixed in their group the habit of looking behind the incident for the general law."<sup>2</sup> Finot<sup>3</sup> denies that there are inferior and superior races, "but only races and peoples living outside or within the influence of culture," and that the superior culture of the white peoples is the effect of circumstances. It would be a simple matter to multiply authorities who hold that in inherent capacity there is an essential mental equality among races and that whatever differences are manifested are explainable solely on the grounds of unequal opportunity.

On the assumption of essential mental equality of races, the offspring resulting from their miscegenation would be inferior to neither and, if anything, superior to both.<sup>4</sup> A difference in cultural status would not affect the result, since the culture

<sup>1</sup> W. I. THOMAS, "Source Book for Social Origins," pp. 169-172.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. THOMAS, "Sex and Society," p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> JEAN FINOT, "Race Prejudice," p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Superior to either on the assumption that cross-fertilization would give rise to a higher degree of variability.

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or its absence is incidental and explainable on other than biological grounds. Consequently, any superiority the mixed breed may display in excess of the culturally inferior parent race is, presumably, to be accounted for on the assumption that it has enjoyed superior opportunity to acquire culture; any inferiority as compared to the culturally superior parent group which the mixed-blood group may display is to be explained by the fact that it has had a less favorable opportunity for the acquisition of culture. In the American situation, therefore, the whites, blacks, and mulattoes are assumed to be equal in mental ability and in capacity for civilization. The inferior culture of the Negroes is assumed to be due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances not implying any congenital inferiority. The superiority of the mulattoes to the blacks is assumed to be due to the superior opportunities they have had to assimilate the culture of the advanced group and implies no essential mental superiority. It is merely a matter of environment and opportunity.

That the superior status of the mixed-blood group and their greater achievements as compared to the full-blood Negroes can be adequately and satisfactorily accounted for on the basis of this assumption alone is, to say the least, dubious.

There has beyond doubt been some superior opportunities open to the mulattoes in the past



that have not been open to the bulk of individuals of pure Negro blood. Under the slave régime the yellow boys and girls were most frequently selected for house and body servants, for coachmen and personal attendants, for confidential and responsible positions, for any and every sort of employment which required any special exercise of judgment or which brought them into any close association with the master class. The organic reaction toward men of mixed blood was in general less violent than toward the more pronounced Negro type; this increased their chances for association with the ruling class. Rightly or wrongly, there was the almost universal assumption of the mulattoes' superior mentality; this led to their selection when possible for those positions and employments requiring other than mechanical labor. In the cities—and it was of course in the cities and towns that the large percentage of mulattoes were produced—they were employed as porters, roustabouts, and in all the various lines of menial employment as well as, in larger relative numbers than in the rural districts, in house and body service. In the cities there was more occupational differentiation, and they were more in contact with the white race and in contact with more different individuals of that race than was the case in the country districts. These superior opportunities for observation and for a form of association with white people gave the individuals of a naturally imitative race a better

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opportunity than their agricultural brothers enjoyed to take on the superficials of white civilization. The house servants—and the percentage of these was larger in the cities—took on a superficial refinement, impossible for their more isolated kinsmen. The occupational differentiation in both city and country operated to the advantage of the mixed-blood individuals. A good many of the mulatto group were given some education and property, sometimes because of their relationship to the master's family and sometimes because of the fact that the intimate association in domestic and personal duties had given rise to genuine affection between the master and the intelligent faithful servant. The same things which caused many slaves to be given some training and property led to the freeing of a goodly number of bondsmen. The free-Negro class everywhere contained a high percentage of mulattoes, and some advantage may reasonably be expected to have inhered in this status, though it is by no means clear that such was always the case. The whole matter of attitude on the part of the white people and its consequent result in greater opportunities for lighter work, more association, greater privileges, better training, and more freedom operated to the advantage of the mulattoes prior to the passing of the institution of slavery.

All this may be claimed. At the same time it should be remembered that this whole matter of

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the yellow man's superior opportunities can very easily be overdone, and it is not infrequently exaggerated to the point of absurdity. Some difference in opportunity certainly existed. But not all mulattoes enjoyed the superior opportunities, and many black Negroes had, in the South at least, surroundings equally advantageous. The house servants, the town Negroes, the trusted slaves, the freed blacks, were by no means all of mixed blood. There were more free blacks than free mulattoes,<sup>1</sup> and the majority of town Negroes were black rather than yellow.<sup>2</sup> The same thing was true of the domestics and other trusted servants. The available number of mulattoes was not unlimited, and not every white family preferred the yellow to the black in confidential relations. Compared to their numerical ratio in the race, the mulattoes enjoyed some, perhaps a very large, advantage; but an equal and probably far greater number of blacks enjoyed similar advantages. The difference in status of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Compendium of the Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, p. 83, gives the following information:

Free Negroes		
Slave states		
Black . . .	.....	151,076
Mulatto	.....	105,945
Free states		
Black	. . . . .	124,334
Mulatto	. . . . .	53,150

<sup>2</sup> For the urban and rural distribution of the mixed- and pure-blood Negro population in 1860, see the *United States Census*, 1890, "Population," Vol. I, Part 1, p. 191.

yellow and the black man is out of all proportion to the differences in the advantages and opportunities which prevailed in the past.

Moreover, such discrimination as may have formerly operated to the disadvantage of the black Negroes has, since the passing of the slave order, become a negligible quantity; the black man now has, ostensibly at least, essentially the same opportunity as has his lighter-colored relative. It is even true that in certain circumstances a high color is a greater advantage to a Negro than is an efficient mentation. The mentality which controls the operation of Negro, as well as of white, institutions does not always abide in conspicuous places. A black skin not infrequently receives the credit for the product of a white or a yellow man's brains. Color may be a distinct asset to a man. Especially is this true where there is no essential correlation between the conspicuous administrative position and the operation of the administrative technique.

Further, it is not demonstrable that the advance of the mulattoes is referable to their superior opportunities, even if it be admitted that the opportunities were superior. The training in household service under the slave régime often produced a highly polished servant, but there is little evidence to bear out the assumption that this refinement was anything more than monkey imitation of the superficial traits of the race above them. It is not this class which produced the sane leaders of a

later period. Freed from the tutelage of the white, this trained class took an active and not highly creditable part in the political life of the succeeding decade and later formed an exploiting class socially above the race. It was the industrially trained Negroes who first found their bearings in the new life of freedom, and it is their descendants who have made a common-sense adjustment to the exigencies of the situation.<sup>1</sup> Real ability is pretty largely independent of the opportunities which condition the advance of mediocrity. The opportunities of Booker T. Washington were not noticeably superior to those of some ten million other Negroes and mulattoes. His advance was not alone due to superior opportunities.

The superior status of the mulattoes does not appear to be explainable on the single assumption of superior opportunity, any more than it is explainable on the assumption of the inequality of the races to which they trace their origin. Either assumption will account for superiority, neither will account for great superiority, and a combination of both is inadequate to account for the gulf that exists between the yellow and the black.

It is necessary to look for other factors, independent of, or supplementary to, those ordinarily posited to explain the prevailing facts. Such a factor—and one of first-rate importance and one

<sup>1</sup> BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, "The Story of the Negro," *Outlook*, Vol. 93, p. 311.

that seems everywhere to have escaped notice—is not far to seek.

Aside from any question of inherent equality or inequality, which is a subject still awaiting further scientific investigation, there has been in the past a biological selection in favor of the mulatto group, and, in a somewhat altered form, the same force is powerfully operating in favor of the mulatto group today.

The mixed-blood group was of course in its origin the product of extra-matrimonial association between the white men and the Negro women. From the Caucasian side the mulattoes' ancestry has not as a rule been of a particularly high order. The great mass of the mulattoes must trace their ancestry back to the association of their women with the lower classes of the whites. Certainly some mulattoes of today can trace their ancestry back to men of great ability and prominence. But on the whole the Caucasian side of the mulattoes' ancestry has been, if not an inferior one, at least not above the average.

But from the Negro side the mulattoes are descended from the best of the race. In this respect America is but a single case of what appears to have been the general rule:<sup>1</sup> the choicer females of a subject race have always been selected as the concubines and auxiliary wives of the master race.

<sup>1</sup> FRANZ OPPENHEIMER, "The State; Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically," pp. 80ff.

It is sometimes asserted that only the vicious members of the backward race entered into such relations, but this is not in accord with the facts. In the slavery period there is no question as to the opportunity of white men to intermix with women of the lower race. It was not a question of opportunity on the part of the white male so much as it was a question of desire. Such association was to the Negro woman an honor sought and not a relation avoided. The choicest females of the black group became the mothers of a race of half-breeds. The female offspring of these mixed unions became chosen in turn to serve the pleasure of the superior group. By this process of repeated selection of the choicer girls of the black and mulatto groups<sup>1</sup> to become the mothers of a new generation of mixed-blood individuals there has been a constant force making for the production of a choicer and choicer type of female. So far as a correlation obtains between physical perfection and mental superiority and in so far as such superiority is a heritable thing, the mulattoes, from one side of their ancestry at least, have tended to produce a superior type.

But there is another consideration. The house servants throughout the slavery period were a selected class. Appearance was one element entering into their choice for that occupation; natural intelligence was another. The females of this class represented both physically and mentally the best

<sup>1</sup> F. L. OLMSTED, "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," pp. 593ff.

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of the race. It was, of course, from the class of house girls both in cities and on the plantations that the concubines of white men were mostly selected. These girls had the greatest opportunity to meet men outside of the immediate family, and they it was who became the mothers of the successive generations of mixed bloods. They were the choicer and the more sought-after class. More than any other class among the Negroes, unless the free Negroes and mulattoes be excepted, the physically and mentally superior house-servant girls became the mothers of successive generations of mulattoes. Here there is no question of their mental superiority; that was one criterion on which their selection for house servants was made.

The mulattoes thus trace their ancestry back to the choicest physical and mental type of their race. On the Caucasian side the pedigree runs back to a more miscellaneous group, among which are men of every class of society and every grade of intelligence. On the whole they represent the middle and lower social levels. So far as the mulatto is the product of the lowest white and the best black, he would not, on the assumption of equal race ability, presumably stand superior to his racial average. So far as it can be shown that he was the product of the middle- or upper-class white men and in so far as the superior social status connotes superior mentality, he was the product of the best Negroes and an average or superior white



and would be by heredity superior to the average of the black group. On the whole it would seem that the mulattoes, because of this process of sexual selection, are somewhat superior to the black Negroes.

There has been and is, however, a further and somewhat more important selective influence at work, tending in a much less uncertain way to the production and the perpetuation of an inherently superior mulatto group.

The European peoples and their descendants in every part of the world have always assumed the mental superiority of the white race. The superiority of their culture was so palpably evident as never to be called into question. That this superior culture was not a conclusive demonstration of white superiority was a consideration that seldom rose above the threshold of consciousness. Peoples were judged by the prevailing state of their civilization; the inequality of peoples was assumed on the basis of their unequal advancement. That the white was superior and was the proper standard by which all others were to be judged was the undebated and unquestioned presupposition. That the Negro slaves were mentally inferior was assumed and unquestioned.

Consequently, from the genesis of the mulatto group in America they have been assumed by the whites to be mentally more capable than the

extreme Negro type. The assumption of inequality between the parent-races ruled any other belief out of consideration. The white blood was a visible evidence of the mixed bloods' superiority to the more lowly black; his equally evident relationship to the lower group was similarly evidence of his inferiority to the pure-blood whites. In the thought of the white man he took rank from the inception of the group as a mentally, as he obviously was physically, intermediate type.

The Negroes recognized the superiority of their masters and attributed that superiority, as did the white man himself, to the fact of his race and color. They accepted their inferior status as a consequence of their inferiority. No Negro questioned the superior ability of the white, and probably there is no Negro today who does not subconsciously believe the white man superior. Certainly the assumption is less questioned among them than among the whites.

The mulattoes, when they appeared upon the scene, simply took over the prevailing way of thinking. They accepted the white man as superior, recognized the Negro as inferior, and looked upon themselves as an intermediate type. The white man treated them as inferior; the Negroes treated them as superior. They looked up to the white and down on the black. Because of their assumed superiority—or for whatever reason—they were given a higher status than that of most of the blacks. The blacks recognized the difference made and ac-

cepted the white man's estimate. They attributed the superior position of the mulattoes to the fact of their mixed blood. The mulattoes very soon came to enjoy a prestige among the black group because of their relative absence of color and because of their assumed or actual superiority.

As a consequence of this caste feeling, which appeared almost as soon as the mulattoes, there has always tended to be, and there frequently has been, in fact, a separation between the blacks and the mulattoes on the basis of color. The mulattoes have always tended to draw away from the Negroes, to avoid intimate association with them, to form separate societies, and to find their associates among others of their kind and among certain classes of whites. It has been the constant pressure from above that has prevented the cleavage between the black and the yellow men from becoming a hard-and-fast color line. The mulattoes tended from the first to intermarry among themselves and so to perpetuate their traditional superiority. The sex relations between the mulattoes and the black Negroes tend to be of the kind that exist between the whites and the mulattoes rather than to be an intermarriage relation. The black girl is flattered by attentions from the mulatto man, just as the mulatto girl is flattered by the attentions of the white man.

The presence of this potential caste just above him has always been the envy of the black man.

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To gain admittance to it has always been his hope and his ambition. White is the badge of superiority. The blacks desire to be like the mulatto; the mulattoes desire to be like the white. The racial uniform is the Negroes' most heavy burden.

As a result of the social prestige of the mulattoes, the group is able to attract to itself every superior man who appears among the Negroes. To the extent that a black man is naturally superior, to the extent that he distinguishes himself among his fellows, to the extent that he advances to a superior or conspicuous place within the group by virtue of education, the accumulation of property, or what not, just to that extent does he become eligible for admission into mulatto society and qualified for marriage into the mulatto caste. The desire on the part of the Negroes, owing in part to the prestige enjoyed by the mulattoes, results in the condition of almost every superior man among the black Negroes marrying a mulatto wife. The superior mulatto men rarely ever marry into the black group. Of the half-dozen black Negroes of some eminence in America at the present time, no one, so far as the facts are known, is married to a black woman.

A single illustration of the tendency will suffice. The National Negro Business League will serve as an example of what is true of any group of exceptional men of the race. This group of men is doubt-

less the most representative group of Negroes in America. The life membership includes almost every Negro of any special importance in any particular line of work; certainly it includes the best in every line. Of the 200-odd life members of the League, in 1913, definite facts were ascertained in regard to 143 married men. Of these men, 14 are black men of pure or nearly pure blood; 20 are dark mulattoes—that is, men of more Negro than Caucasian blood; 40 are men of approximately equal parts of Negro and Caucasian intermixture; 42 are light-skinned mulattoes—that is, men of considerable more Caucasian than Negro blood; 27 are near-white mulattoes—men whose features show only a trace, and in some cases scarcely a trace, of Negro intermixture. If now the wives of these men be classified into similar categories, 3 are found to be full-blood or nearly full-blood Negresses, 14 are of approximately three-fourths Negro blood, 32 are of about equal parts Negro and Caucasian, 54 are of approximately three-fourths white blood, and 40 show only a trace or even less of Negro blood. It is thus seen that there is an appreciably larger percentage of Negro blood in this group of successful men than there is in the group of women which they have chosen to be the mothers of their children.

Further analysis of the facts shows the tendency of the men to select wives of the same or a lighter color. It is quite the exception to find a man married

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to a woman of a color darker than his own. Of the exceptions to this rule, two at least are to be accounted for by the fact that the woman who is a party to the union is a person of wealth or distinction and so was the one able to exercise choice in the marriage selection. But the chief exception to the rule is in the case of those near-white members of the group who, if they are to marry within the race at all, must mate with women of their own or a darker color. Thrown into the form of a table the facts are strikingly apparent.

NUMBER AND COLOR OF MEN	NUMBER AND COLOR OF THEIR WIVES				
	Black	Dark Mulattoes	Mulattoes	Light Mulattoes	Near- white
Black, 14. ....	2	2	3	5	2
Dark mulattoes, 20	0	5	5	8	2
Mulattoes, 40. ....	1	2	18	9	10
Light mulattoes, 42	0	3	2	24	13
Near-white, 27. ....	0	2	4	8	13
Totals, 143. ....	3	14	32	54	40

Of the 14 men of pure or nearly pure Negro blood, 2 are married to women of approximately full blood; 2 of them are married to dark-skinned mulattoes—that is, to women of approximately three-fourths Negro blood; 3 are married to women of approximately equal parts of Negro and Caucasian blood; 5 are married to light-colored mulatto women—that is, quadroons or octoroons; 2 are married to near-white women. The 14 women on

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the average contain appreciably more Caucasian than Negro blood. In 12 of the 14 cases the children of these exceptional men are mulattoes; in only 2 of the 14 cases will any of the native superiority of their black father which they may show or transmit be an asset to the black as distinct from the mulatto group.

In the whole list the men are in 59 cases married to women lighter in color than themselves; in 62 cases the color of the husband and the wife is approximately the same, while in only 22 cases is the wife darker than the husband. In 121 of the 143 cases, therefore, the children resulting from the union will be of the same or a lighter color<sup>1</sup> than the father, and in only 22 cases will the offspring be of a darker hue. Moreover, as has already been pointed out, in several of the latter cases the men are themselves practically white and their wives only a shade darker. In any case their children belong to a light-mulatto or near-white group. It is thus apparent that in this group of successful and talented men there is a sexual selection against the black and in favor of the lighter-colored type.

As a result of this marriage selection, whatever talent there is among the mulattoes remains among the mulattoes; whatever talent there is among the black group marries into the mulatto caste. In

<sup>1</sup> Some allowance must also be made for some non-predictable variability in the offspring of hybrid parents.

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either event the talent of the whole race finds its way into the mulatto group. The descendants of these talented men are mulattoes, and whatever of the father's superior mentality and energy they may show or carry becomes an asset to the mulatto group, and the full-blood group is correspondingly impoverished. The mulatto caste loses none of its native worth and is constantly reinforced by the addition to it of the best of the variant types which appear among the numerically larger group.

When this fact of marriage selection is recognized, it becomes possible to account for the demonstrated superiority of the mulatto group without assuming anything in regard to the inherent inferiority of the black race and without exaggerating the opportunities which the mixed bloods have had to assimilate the culture of the white group. It is not necessary to show biological difference in the mental capacity of the parent races in order to account for a biological superiority in the mixed-blood group. The selective influence operating through the channels of conventional marriage would, in the course of a few generations, undoubtedly produce a somewhat superior group. The difference in capacity of mulattoes and full-blood Negroes, observed by several investigators and suspected by others, may very well trace its origin to the operation of this selective factor rather than to an unequal capacity of the parent races. If further investigation bears out the hypothesis of race



inequality, this selective factor will account, in part at least, for the fact that the mixed blood is not a median group, but in status and in ability to produce superior individuals stands nearer to the Caucasian than to the Negro parent.

But the validity of the present position is in no way dependent upon the hypothesis of race difference. It rather reinforces the position of those who, while maintaining essential race equality, have not been able to account satisfactorily for the superiority of the mulattoes without placing an undue emphasis on the better opportunity they have had to assimilate the culture of the white group. The white man's assumption of the mixed bloods' superior capability, entirely aside from any question as to the accuracy of the assumption, created in the Negro race the tradition of mulatto superiority. It laid the basis for a class separation on the basis of skin coloration and for the social prestige of the mixed-blood group. The social superiority of the mulattoes in the presence of their inability to form a closed caste has operated, through the influence of marriage selection, to bring into the group the favorable variant types produced by the entire race. The effect, on the whole and through the course of generations, has been to build up on the basis of the cultural class divergence a group that is not only culturally and traditionally superior, but one whose ancestry contains practically every superior man the race in America has produced and

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which is, in consequence, a group of greater inherent possibility than is the branch of the race from which the favorable variant types have been successively abstracted. Even on the assumption of essential equality of the black as compared to the white race, this sex selection on the basis of class separation and traditional superiority must be taken into account in explaining the superior status of the mulatto group and in accounting for the greater number of superior individuals produced by the mixed-blood division of the race.

In this marriage selection there is a factor which, taken in connection with either of the conventional explanations of race differences or independent of either one or both of them, is operating to produce a superior racial group. In the American mulatto the evolution of a superior race may be seen in process.



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MULATTO



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**A**LMOST from the beginning of Western culture in America, distinctions were made in the servile class on the basis of blood intermixture. This was in part the result of the doctrine of white racial superiority. But there were other facts making for class separation on this basis.

The first mulattoes were of course the result of primary crosses. They were the sons and daughters of white men or women. In consequence, there was often a sentimental factor operating to favor the child. The relations between the parents of the mixed-blood children, at least in some cases, were based on mutual affection. White men were sometimes inordinately fond of their colored babies. This matter of relationship and personal affection was a thing of first-rate importance in those cases where the mulattoes were children of the slave owner or of some member of his family. Being the owner as well as the father or uncle of the mulatto child, he was in a position to give it special consideration. The cases where the masters were the slave owners of their own relatives and favored them above other slaves are numerous. Such children were often freed, sometimes they were educated,

and generally they were directed into the more stimulating and less deadening sorts of occupations.

Another important factor in the differentiation came in very early. Some of the mulattoes were the children of white mothers and Negro fathers. When the question of the legal status of the Negroes came to be defined in law a distinction was made on the basis of parentage. It became a rule at law that the status of children should follow that of the mother, with the result that some percentage of the mulatto children were free persons. This group perhaps did not include a very considerable proportion of the total mulatto population but it contributed to the increase of the group of free Negroes and to the percentage of mulattoes in the group. The frequent emancipation by slave holders of their mixed-blood relatives also added to the mulatto character of the free Negro population.

Within the slave order itself the mulattoes were commonly favored. The assumption of the greater native ability of the persons of mixed blood led to their being trained for skilled and semiskilled occupations. They were most frequently selected for positions of responsibility and for positions involving personal and confidential relations. They were everywhere in demand for house servants. They were, more generally than the average of the population, city residents. Whatever the reason, and the reasons were different in different cases, the mulattoes were commonly assigned to the more

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stimulating types of work, were given more education and freedom, and had the advantage of more contact and association with cultured people.

The distinctions thus made in the Negro population afforded the mulattoes on the average more freedom and opportunity and this registered very early in the greater cultural advance of these persons. They furnished most of the individuals of any prominence and achievement. They came to occupy a somewhat special status; they stood somewhat apart from the field hands and common laborers. This class division was of course nowhere complete. There were always black men in the special positions and there were always mulattoes among the field and labor gangs. Some of the leaders were black men. But the distinction was sufficiently marked to be recognized by the Negroes and the mulattoes as well as by the whites. And the explanation, subsequent for the most part to the fact, came to be the same for each of the groups.

The external situation was reflected in the social and psychological attitudes; the sentiments and beliefs came to be in harmony with the external social order. Men developed the type of mind and the set of habits necessary to a tolerable life. The white group, superior in status and culture, developed the psychological characteristics that go with power and responsibility. The Negroes, repressed and backward, accommodated them-



selves to the inevitable and developed the reciprocal type of mind.

In the situation, the mulattoes were, in cultural advance as well as in appearance, intermediate types. Their white relationship, their somewhat superior status, and their greater degree of accomplishment raised them somewhat above the general level of the Negro population. But the same group of facts placed them below as well as outside the white group. The whites treated them as somewhat superior to the Negroes. They thought them superior and expressed the belief in their treatment. At the same time they believed them to be inferior to the whites and treated them as inferiors. The Negroes, reflecting the white attitude in this as they did in most other matters, looked upon the mulattoes as being of a higher caste and as being natively superior men. In much the same way the mulattoes came typically to conceive of themselves. They were a numerically minor group and the conceptions that they came to hold of themselves and of their natural place in the social order was determined in major part by the beliefs and attitudes of the major groups. The Negroes looked up to them, they looked down upon the Negroes; the whites looked down upon them, they looked up to the whites. A body of popular doctrine thus developed out of the cultural situation. The separation and relative status was a fact imposed from without. It favored the mixed bloods at the expense

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of the unmixed Negroes. The resulting sentiments and beliefs presently came to operate as an independent force making for the perpetuation and increase of the separation that, in the first instance, gave a basis for the body of belief.

As the differentiation advanced, the mulatto sense of superiority increased. The internal bonds, which distinguish a genuine class organization from a group held together by external forces, formed and strengthened. The mulattoes developed a common body of sentiment and belief that fostered their closer association. They held themselves more and more aloof from the backward Negroes and avoided association with them. In some cases very definite and highly exclusive mulatto societies were formed. Color, or its absence, came more or less to be a badge of the élite. This separation, seldom complete and often potential rather than realized, continued well into the present period.

It was inevitable that the Negro and the mulatto individuals of education and refinement should desire association with persons of like culture. They had little in common with the illiterate laboring groups. They lived in a somewhat different universe. Their whole cultural orientation was toward the white rather than toward the Negro group. Ethnically, they were frequently more white than Negro. In tastes and ideas, interests and ambitions, standards and education, they were drawn to the dominant culture group. Opportunity

for tolerable life and individual success was, or at least seemed to be, greater there.

But, regardless of education and refinement, they were excluded from participation in the white society. An assumption of inferiority and uncleanness attached to them and the traditional definitions classed them with the Negroes. They resented the classification. They had little in common with the rank and file of the Negroes with whom association was often offensive and always depressing. In the situation they were typically discontented, unhappy, rebellious persons. There was a long period during which the educated mulatto was a pathetic figure. His wishes could not be satisfied within the existing social order.

In some cases there was a possibility of individual escape. Where the physical marks were not conspicuous, they simply passed as white men. The number who have thus changed their racial classification with a change of residence is often grossly exaggerated, but that the number was considerable there is no doubt. This became increasingly frequent as continued intermixture and European immigration tended to blur the lines of race distinction, as the technique for concealing tell-tale racial marks increased, and as the anonymity of urban life increased. But large or small in amount, it is an evidence of the mulattoes' protest against an anomalous social status. But it was no solution except in individual and exceptional cases.

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Others accepted, at least outwardly, the inevitable, identified themselves with the Negro group, and assumed its leadership. For this they were prepared by the facts of superior education, a longer and more varied experience, a certain prestige, and a sense of superiority and self-confidence which the black group lacked because they lacked experience. The mulatto aristocracy was a generation or so ahead of the bulk of the race. They came to compose the bulk of the growing business and professional classes. This mulatto leadership the Negro group more or less willingly accepted. They could not do otherwise in the absence of education, status, experience, and self-confidence.

Not all the Negro leaders were mulattoes. They were more numerous and generally more prominent, capable, and influential. But there were also many influential black men. This was particularly true in certain lines of work, as church leadership, where the absence of education was not a serious handicap. Since the church touched the common Negro at so many points, the minister was always a man of local importance. The mulattoes never reached the dominating position in church affairs that they did in the professional and intellectual pursuits.

There was also, at all times, a more or less unanalyzed opposition on the part of the Negroes to the mulatto leadership and representation. There was a vague irritation arising from the mulattoes'

assumption of superiority, an inarticulate desire among the masses for a black leadership. Even among his followers and admirers, Washington was often referred to in disappointed tones as a "little yellow man." The prominence in racial affairs of certain men has certainly been due in part to the fact that they were obviously and conspicuously not mixed bloods.

As the general Negro population gained in education and advanced in economic status, more of the latent talent of the race had opportunity to get expression. As educational opportunity was extended through the public schools and in some degree equalized, the talented children of the masses had some chance to emerge. And the success of every black child contributed to the growing self-confidence of the group. As time goes on the sheer weight of numbers will also be felt. The Negro group is four or five times as large as the mixed-blood group. Assuming the practical equality of native ability in the two groups, the Negroes will produce four or five times as many outstanding men when the opportunities of the groups have been equalized.

With the general economic and cultural advance of the group there is a greatly increased need for educated men. The number of physicians and lawyers and other professional men is far below the group needs. This has provided and will continue to provide an opportunity for the ambitious

black boy. In every group leadership comes chiefly from the favored classes. It is only in exceptional times, when the need for superior men exceeds the capacity of the aristocracy to produce them, that talented individuals born in the lower orders are able to emerge. In the present and recent past, the mulatto class, from which Negro leadership has traditionally come, is not able to supply the number of leaders needed.

The growing solidarity of the race operates to the same end. Regardless of the evaluative attitude that one takes toward the growth of racial self-consciousness, it makes a place for an additional number of popular leaders and provides a background of racial self-respect that assures their appearance. And it makes certain that, other things approximately equal, the individuals not conspicuously unlike the masses in physical appearance will have some initial advantage. Because of, or in spite of, conspicuously Negroid features, superior individuals will have an increased opportunity to rise.

There is at the present time another force of some importance operating to equalize the opportunities of the Negroes and mulattoes. This is the growing disposition to judge the work of Negroes by the same standards as are elsewhere applied.

There have always been many sentimental and non-critical individuals ready to applaud any artistic effort of a Negro no matter how crude. They have

done the cause of Negro advancement much harm, as have also the white faddists who are always ready to patronize any Negro who gains a momentary notoriety. The fact that a mediocre piece of work is done by a Negro is sufficient excuse for an outburst of praise. The most extravagant praise frequently has been meted out to work that has no outstanding merit when judged by critical objective standards. It is assumed to merit praise because it is done by a Negro from whom not much should be expected.

But there is an increasing group of more or less influential men who have become skeptical of the doctrine of race superiority and of the popular idea that native talent and ability are localized in certain favored economic and social classes. They are disposed to offer encouragement to unknown Negroes as well as to others of literary and artistic promise. Back of this interest, in some cases, is a belief that because of a peculiar racial temperament, Negroes are able to make a unique contribution to American culture. Others anticipate a distinctive culture contribution because the body of social experience of the Negroes is distinctive and peculiar. Still others look upon talent as a matter of individual variation as likely to appear in one place as another. They are concerned to discover and recognize it regardless of race or social class.

This relatively new interest has the effect of stimulating the Negroes' artistic efforts. They are

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assured of an appreciative and sympathetic audience for any meritorious work. So far as the productions of individuals are evaluated in objective terms, the Negro and the mulatto stand on exactly the same level, and a difference in the amount of talent emerging from the two groups is a measure either of the artificial differences in education, tradition, and economic status still existing, or of a difference in the number of favorably variant men that the two groups produce.

All such changes operate to a reduction in the advantage that the mixed bloods have traditionally enjoyed. In certain fields the Negro gets recognition and reward proportional to accomplishment.

The present tendency of liberal-minded white people to discount the accidents of birth and economic status and to recognize individuals on the basis of personality and inherent worth removes in part one of the greatest handicaps of the Negro. He is not prejudged. There is no longer an assumption that his capacity varies inversely as his skin color. This new attitude of the liberal group stimulates and reinforces the growing self-respect of the black man. He can be a Negro, he can even be proud of the fact, without of necessity being a fool. The fact of Negro blood does not of necessity carry with it the presumption of incapacity. It may put certain more or less inconvenient obstacles in the way of the individual's advance, but the obstacles are



external; they are in the social organization rather than in the psychology of the individual. External handicaps may be overcome. But there was no advance possible so long as the individual Negro accepted the general belief in the innate incapacity of the black man.

This change in the Negro's attitude toward himself removes one important advantage historically enjoyed by the mixed bloods. There is no longer the same assumption of mulatto superiority. The Negroes are rapidly developing a confidence in their own ability to manage their own affairs and to produce their own talented men.

As a result of the changing situation, there is an increasing number of relatively black Negroes among the successful and prominent men.

In the future we may anticipate a farther decline in the preponderance of mixed bloods in the economic, political, and intellectual leadership. With the equalization of opportunity, the Negroes, assuming equality in the distribution of native ability, will produce an increasing proportion of the prominent men.

But the advantage that the mixed bloods have enjoyed, and in a measure still enjoy, will continue.

It is not reasonable to anticipate that the difference will disappear in one generation. The mixed bloods have a long start and their tradition of

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superiority will persist. The doctrine of racial inequality is perhaps more firmly fixed in popular thought at the present time than it has ever been. It is not likely to be dislodged in any reasonable period of time. So long as it persists the mulattoes will enjoy an intangible but very real advantage that will get expression in their relative degree of success. It will require a long period for the Negroes to overcome the handicap of the later start and the popular assumption of lower capacity.

At the present time the mixed bloods occupy a somewhat superior status. As a result, superior individuals are attracted to the group and tend to reinforce and perpetuate the status. Individuals born and reared in the group have an initial advantage in the struggle for success.

Again, the mixed bloods have the advantage of better education and a more secure economic position. This gives a prestige at the same time that it assures better education, better homes, and greater economic security for the succeeding generations. This operates and will continue to operate to the advantage of the mulatto group.

But these differences are, on the whole, on the decline. With the spread of education, the growth of race consciousness, and the attitude of the liberal white people, the Negroes of talent will more and more come to the front. Ultimately, if the races are in reality equal in capacity, the Negroes

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will produce as many prominent men, in proportion to their number, as any other element in the population. The fact that the mulattoes have in the past produced more prominent men should be understood as a simple and obvious consequence of the historic circumstances that have favored them.

## THE HYBRID AS A SOCIOLOGICAL TYPE



## THE HYBRID AS A SOCIOLOGICAL TYPE

**T**HERE are few questions of behavior more heavily freighted with emotional content than that of racial amalgamation. It touches the two points at which Western peoples most frequently run amuck: the violation of womanhood and the integrity of the social group. The attitudes at each point are so completely inbedded in the underlying *mores* as all but to preclude discussion of related topics. Also, there are many persons who harbor an uneasy fear that candid discussion of racial intermixture would bring into the light facts not wholly flattering to a revered ancestry. There are others who regard any objective treatment as an attempt to challenge the validity of beliefs essential to the stability of the existing racial order. To certain persons of delicate sensibilities the idea is personally distasteful; they are physically nauseated by the imagery of the intimacy involved.

By simple rationalization of these emotional attitudes, men derive opinions concerning the phenomenon that stirs their tribal fears. They see in the amalgamation of races a violation of the divine purpose manifest in the fact of racial dissimilarity; they see the decline of civilization and the recrudescence of barbarism through the con-

tamination of the Nordic stock; they see the downfall of nations as a result of the dilution of the political genius of peoples; or they foretell some other type of major disaster according as the individual run of attention determines the specific form of the rationalization. To forestall a train of anticipated evils, men resort to external control in its varied forms: the state denies to mixed marriages the protection of organized society; the Church withholds her divine sanction; public sentiment ostracises the participants; and unregulated mobs discipline persons violating the racial tabus of the group.

Yet, regardless of the moral indignation aroused and of its expression in ill-considered legislation and in acts of personal violence, the process of racial fusion goes on wherever individuals of divergent racial ancestry come into personal contact. The revulsion of feeling incident to abstract consideration of an æsthetically offensive relationship disappears when personal contacts and association develop an appreciation of personality.

While we may not assert that the fusion of races has always aroused the disapproval of the group, we may assert the universality of the process itself. The skeletal remains of fossil man leave no doubt that the blending of divergent stocks was in process some milleniums before the historic era. Examination of the various existent backward culture peoples shows an endless mixing of stocks and blending of cultures. Knowledge of historic

peoples of both the ancient and the modern world reveals invasion and conquest, the fusion of cultures, and the amalgamation of the conquered with their conquerors as characteristic elements in the formation of states. So long continued has been this crossing and recrossing and so diverse have been the ethnic elements fusing to form the present day European peoples, that the continent can show scarcely a trace of racial purity remaining. Every modern marriage continues the process of hybridization of nearly or remotely related racial types: virtually every child is the hybrid offspring of a hybrid ancestry.

The hybridization of stocks, continuous in the phenomena of marriage in the ethnic mosaic of modern nationalities, gives rise to offspring not differing in any outstanding way that would interfere with mobility and social contacts in a cosmopolitan society: each hybridized individual is a unit with a unique combination of physical and probably of mental traits but sufficiently within the group range of variation to live an individual and unmolested life. This intermixture has no sociological consequences and interests the social theorist only to the extent that it facilitates cultural contacts and contributes to the spread, acceptance, and fusion of culture heritages.

But in the recent centuries, particularly since the period of the discoveries, and increasingly as



science, through the development of means of transportation and communication, has made possible world-wide trade and commercial relations, people hitherto widely separated have been brought into contact in ever-increasing numbers. These ethnic contacts, incident to trade, colonial and military activities, have been in certain cases with peoples of distinctive physical appearance and of retarded or divergent culture.

When such has been the case, the sex relationships of individuals of the unlike races have resulted in hybrid offspring more or less distinctive in appearance. In America the white pioneers and settlers associated with and sometimes married the Indian girls. At present every Indian tribe contains numerous individuals of bi-racial ancestry who obviously are neither Indian nor European. In some tribes no individuals of pure Indian ancestry remain, and in many the half-breeds are more numerous than the persons of unmixed Indian ancestry. Incident to the Spanish colonial policy, large numbers of individuals of Spanish-Indian ancestry appeared. In the Spanish West Indies, in Central America, and in various South American republics these Spanish half-breeds are elements of numerical importance in the populations. Other hybrid groups owe their origin to the contact of the Portuguese and Indians in South America; to the contact of the French and Indians in Canada; to the contact of the Chinese with the native races

of the Philippines. In the West Indies, on the continent of South America, and elsewhere the Spanish came into contact with Negroes and left a numerous mulatto progeny. Other mulatto groups have appeared in South Africa and the United States and indeed in every situation where Negro women have encountered white men. There are various half-caste groups in the Indian Coast cities and elsewhere in the Orient which resulted from the contacts incident to the trade and commercial relations between the East and the West and to the colonizing activities of the European world.

In each of these cases, and in various others, the mixed racial ancestry is plainly evident in the physical appearance of the hybrids. The marriage of the hybrid individuals with each other as well as their crossing with each of the parent races has produced an endless variety of types intermediate between the contrasted racial extremes. We are not here concerned with the physical effects of these race crossings—with hybridization in the biological sense. But the distinctive appearance, resulting from the biological fact of intermixture, affects the mobility and so limits the degree, and conditions the type of social interaction. We are concerned with the sociological consequences of the intermixture of racial stocks that are sufficiently divergent in physical characters to give rise to an offspring readily distinguishable by external and

ineradicable marks from the members of either group.

A thing that inevitably impresses itself upon the student of comparative racial phenomena is the striking similarity in social status and achievement of different hybrid groups. In every bi-racial situation the hybrids form or tend to form a distinctive class and to occupy a more or less distinctive social position. In every situation they have erupted a percentage of intellectually capable men far in excess of that furnished by the native element of their racial ancestry. Everywhere they have risen to positions of leadership and relative social success in larger numbers than have the full-blood individuals.

A study of four or five thousand American men of Negro blood who have achieved in any degree that would distinguish them even locally from the great mediocre group shows a great preponderance of men of bi-racial ancestry. If attention be limited to the small group of men of Negro affiliation who have shown a type of ability that would be marked and exceptional in any group, the percentage of mixed-blood men very greatly increases. In spite of the fact that the Negroes of relatively unmixed Negro blood outnumber the mixed bloods three or four to one, they have not produced one prominent man to ten of equal ability developed by the mulattoes. The disproportion holds in all fields of endeavor though it is less marked in poetry, oratory,

preaching, and other lines in which ignorance is not a serious handicap than in science and in scholarly and professional pursuits where achievement is more largely conditioned by adequate training. The disproportion has prevailed throughout the history of the Negroes in America, though it is perhaps somewhat less today than at earlier periods.

The facts are not essentially different in other bi-racial situations. In Jamaica, the mulattoes fill the minor governmental positions and engage in the trades and professions: they are the ministers, teachers, doctors, and other skilled and professional men, while the real Negroes are peasants, laborers, and countrymen. The three classes of society, the aristocracy, the middle class, and the laboring and peasant groups, correspond exactly to race and color lines. The men of prominence are mulattoes, not Negroes. In Brazil, the *metis* are a middle class between a white aristocracy and a native and Negro laboring group; a similar thing is true regarding the Spanish-American countries as a whole. In the Philippines, the Spanish half-breeds are socially above the native element of their ancestry but inferior to the foreign whites and to the white creoles. The Chinese half-breeds have a distinctive place in the society, being neither Chinese nor native. Apparently there is no exception to the statement that every Filipino who has attained political prominence or become known

through his attainments in other lines has been a man of mixed racial ancestry. In the United States the half-breed Indians have in general elected to remain as a part of the Indian community and these individuals and families have been the ones who have made Indian history. John Ross, the most noted man produced by the Cherokee Nation, was seven-eighths white, and every leader of the Nation for over a hundred years has been a man of more white than Indian blood. In South Africa the mixed bloods are the intellectual class among the Negroes. In Haiti the mulatto element is the intellectual, social, and economic aristocracy and has produced the vast majority of the men who have risen to prominence. There appears to be no exception to the generalization that, in bi-racial situations comprising two racial groups of unequal culture, the hybrids tend to occupy an intermediate social and cultural status and to produce a markedly higher percentage of men of prominence and leadership than does the ethnically unmixed native group.

In the American discussion of racial phenomena there has been a general failure to recognize, or a disposition to ignore the distinctive achievement of the mulattoes. In some cases this neglect unquestionably is due to a simple lack of information concerning the major facts in the case. Much of the writing has been in the nature of socio-political propaganda directed toward the solution of a

problem rather than an attempt to understand a situation, and inconvenient facts have, in consequence, been ignored in the interests of a simple narrative and a pat solution. The racial intolerance of white America has sometimes blinded writers to fairly obvious differences. The Negro writers have been even more hesitant than the white publicly to admit the superior cultural contribution of the mulattoes, in part because of the diplomacy of a precarious leadership and in part because of a general misunderstanding of the significance and implication of the facts.

To understand the superior social status of hybrid groups and the greater accomplishment of hybrid individuals, it is necessary to inquire concerning the facts of origin, development, and opportunity.

A popular explanation of the superiority runs to the effect that hybrids being the offspring of a so-called inferior race will, in accordance with the popular conception of the blending of biologically heritable traits, occupy an intermediate position between the parent races. Recently various writers have found experimental and statistical means for demonstrating this independently acquired belief. This conception of the mulatto as a half-way type is a phase and variation of the general doctrine of racial superiority which has been apparently a cherished myth of every human group able to

observe physical or cultural differences between themselves and their neighbors. At present practically all sound scholarship in social phenomena assumes an essential equality in the native mentality of racial groups and, before a scholarly audience, this sort of explanation may be dismissed without extended discussion. The present popular recrudescence of primitive ethnocentrism is to be understood as an inevitable protest of entrenched privilege against the democratic drift of the modern world.

If any native superiority of the mixed-blood groups over either parent race appears, the explanation must be found in terms of a selected ancestry. Assuming an inheritance of mental ability—which is probably a fact though neither the fact nor the degree nor the method of such inheritance has been demonstrated—it must be shown that the ancestors of the hybrid, on either, or both, the paternal or the maternal side, were individuals inherently superior in mental capacity to the average of one or both racial groups. Selective processes must be shown to have been operative in the establishment of the group. This requires an examination of the facts of intermixture.

In origin the half-breed individuals were the result, in major part, of extra-matrimonial relations between men of the politically dominant race and women of the inferior group. In America the white man fathered a mulatto offspring by both the free and the enslaved Negro women. In Canada the

French men and the Indian women freely inter-mixed. In Central and South America and in the West Indies the Spanish reared a numerous progeny by both the Negro and the Indian women. In the Philippines and elsewhere in the East both the Chinese traders and the Spanish conquerors used the native women as mothers of their half-caste offspring. On the African continent are numerous mixed races owing their origin to the contact of the Arab and other traders with women of the native races. The rather numerous Eurasians of the coast cities of the East owe their origin to the contact of Western men and Eastern women. In every situation the mixed-blood groups are the result of extra-matrimonial relations between the men of the politically and culturally dominant group and the women of the native or culturally retarded race.

I am not unmindful of the fact that a marriage relation sometimes obtains between individuals of such racial groups, nor am I unmindful of the fact that women of the culturally superior groups have from time to time married men of the culturally lower race and that other such women have given birth to illegitimate half-breed children. The Chinaman frequently formed a fairly permanent union with the Moro woman who mothered their mixed-blood offspring; the Frenchman sometimes made the Indian woman his legal if temporary wife; in America the squaw man was and is a



reality; white men have in some cases married Negro women. In the early days of the slave institution in America, white serving women in a few cases associated with or became the wives of Negro men. Similar cases may be cited from other bi-racial populations. But a rather trivial percentage of the hybrids of any country can trace their ancestry back to regular marriage unions or to mothers of the culture group. The almost universal rule is that the crossing of races took place outside the socially and legally sanctioned institution of marriage, and that the native or culturally backward race furnished the mothers.

The inquiry thus reduces itself to a question of whether or not, and if at all to what extent, such a situation—extra-matrimonial sex relations between men of a politically or culturally dominant race and women of a dependent race or lower culture—implies a selected type of ancestry.

It is probably true that a polygymous sex system is eugenically desirable. It allows the men of wealth and position to choose as consorts such women and girls as please their amorous fancy and to leave a larger number of offspring than other men of the society. If there exist any correlation between sexual attractiveness and mental ability in women, and if mental ability be a heritable trait, there is reason to believe that the offspring of such a selected maternal ancestry would be mentally superior individuals. Also, if these men of wealth and posi-

tion are the innately superior men of the group—as has often been asserted though never proven—and if mental ability in men is a heritable trait, the offspring should be innately superior persons from the paternal side of their ancestry. Making the necessary assumptions involved—that wealth and position are evidence of superior native mental ability, or that native ability is correlated with sexual attractiveness in women, and that mental ability is an heritable trait—it is then necessary to show only that the hybrids are the offspring of superior men and charming women. The problem thus reduces itself to the question: were the hybrids fathered by the men of wealth and position, and were their mothers the exceptional girls of the lower culture race?

On this point, two or three typical cases must suffice.

The half-breed stocks of South America are the descendants of hybrids resulting from the association of Spanish and Portuguese traders, priests, soldiers, functionaries, and other parasitic accompaniments of a colonial régime. There were doubtless among these classes men of average or superior native ability, but to assume that they represented superior biological strains of the peninsular population would be to make an assumption contrary to everything we know concerning such classes in all societies and contrary to what we know

historically in regard to these particular groups. If the hybrids of these countries can make any claim to a natively superior ancestry, it must be based upon the assumption that these white masters selected for their mistresses the superior members of the enslaved groups, with the further assumption of a positive correlation between mental ability and the type of native female beauty that appealed to the fancy of the Spanish colonial.

In North America the various white peoples, chiefly from north and west European countries, mingled their blood with the Indian groups until many of the unexterminated tribes contain more individuals of hybrid than of unmixed Indian ancestry. It may be true that the frontiersmen and squaw men were a selected type but there is no present evidence that they represented the mental élite of a race. If a case is to be made for the mental superiority of the Indian-white hybrids over either parent race the superiority must come from the Indian branch of the ancestry and to support such an assumption the necessary evidence appears to be lacking.

In the days of the East Indian Company, English officials quite generally kept establishments as a matter of course and fathered numerous half-breed children. But the Eurasians are the product chiefly of the casual contacts of European soldiers, sailors, and other undistinguished European men with native women. We have no reason to assume any marked

mental superiority on the part of the individuals of these white groups and we have no reason to believe that the type of Eastern women who court their favors represent a highly selected group of the Oriental world.

In the crossing of races in the American Negro-white groups the facts are much the same. It was in part a concubinage of selected Negro and mulatto girls by men and boys of the socially upper classes. There is no question that white men of prominence and presumably of ability were responsible for some part of the early intermixture nor is there any doubt that the slave-holding aristocracy left a more or less numerous mulatto progeny. So far as the mulatto population descended from the slave-holding aristocracy and the more pleasing Negro girls there is some reason for assuming a superior heredity. But this does not represent all nor indeed the major part of the hybridization. For the most part the amalgamation of the races resulted from the association of relatively unselected groups of both races, and did not represent any uniform superiority on either side of the racial ancestry. Even where the slave-holding groups furnished the fathers the fact of superior ancestry is not conclusively demonstrated. It simply raises the farther question as to whether and if at all to what extent the slave owners, the plantation overseers, and the slave foremen were inherently superior types of men.

From the known facts in regard to racial intermixture in this and other countries there appears to be no sufficient evidence to justify a belief that the mixed-blood populations as a whole are descended from mentally superior persons or groups. If there be any correlation between social position and native ability, the hybrid groups in their origin were probably below rather than above an average, their ancestry on the whole rather downward than upward of a social mean; there appears to be no adequate ground for a belief in a native superiority of the individuals of bi-racial ancestry that would account for their superior intellectual and social status.

The chief explanation of hybrid superiority must be found in social rather than in biological facts. It lies in the relative degree of isolation, in the differences in mobility and opportunity, of the native as compared with the members of mixed racial origin. For the sake of concreteness and brevity the discussion at this point is limited to the American situation which, in general outline, is typical of the differentiation process within all such bi-racial populations.

At the time of their first contacts on American soil, the Negroes and the whites represented the opposite poles of cultural development. They differed in language, customs, and habits of life; in moral, mental, and religious development, as

well as in ethnic origin, historical tradition, and physical appearance. A black skin, therefore, came early to signify inferior culture and only a little later became the badge of a servile condition. Between the two races there could be no general social equality; there was not even a possibility of harmonious working relations except on the basis of superiority and subordination.

When individuals of mixed ancestry presently appeared, there was manifested no disposition on the part of the whites to treat them as essentially different from the Negroes. In large part they were the offspring of a class of white men whose social, economic, and political status was not at first markedly superior to that of the Negroes: when such was not the case the bastard origin of the mulattoes shocked the conventional moral sense of the community and militated against a community recognition of them as superior to the Negroes of full blood. This attitude presently found formal expression in the legislative enactments which assigned the mulattoes to the status of their mothers.

But the individual mulattoes were believed to be more capable than the full-blood Negroes. Consequently, occupational differentiation within the race operated to their advantage: the favored classes among the slaves, as the number of mulattoes increased, came more and more to be light-colored classes; and the trained mechanics and the trusted servants were drawn from these lighter-colored

groups. Moreover, the mulattoes made a better appearance than the black Negroes, were less offensive in close association, and so gravitated to those house and personal duties which brought them into personal association with the master class. The plantation slaves and the rough laborers in the cities and the towns were largely black men. The division was of course not everywhere equally marked and it was seldom a sharp and complete separation. There were many full-blood black men among the favored classes and there were mulattoes in considerable number in the lower slave occupations but there was a persistent tendency toward an occupational separation on the basis of color. Manumission further widened the breach that existed in bondage. The free-Negro group at all times contained a preponderance of mulattoes; in some places it was, to all intent and purpose, a mulatto group. The social prestige of the mulatto, then as now, gave a basis for marriage selection that operated to raise the native ability of the mulatto group. Such education of the Negro as existed before the Emancipation was almost entirely mulatto education; it was limited to the free Negroes and to certain favored individuals and groups among the slaves. Throughout the period of slavery the rational as well as the sentimental judgments of the whites operated to make the mulattoes superior men and to make the superior groups in the Negro population mulatto groups.

The superior achievement of the hybrids of divergent culture races over the native element of their racial ancestry is an historic fact too well established to admit of question. Its explanation appears to rest not in the biological fact of mixed blood as such but in the culture contacts and personal mobility consequent upon the mixed ethnic origin. It is the result of a differential treatment determined by the biological fact, and is thus not an evidence of superior capacity but a reasonable measure of superior opportunity.





## THE PERSONALITY OF MIXED BLOODS



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**I**T is a matter of common notoriety that human groupings of any size and permanence, historic and contemporary, bear distinguishing and characteristic marks. As a result of ethnic contacts and intermixture supplemented by the selective action of diverse environments upon variable organic traits, they come to differ in racial constitution. As a consequence of culture contacts and the fortuitous appearance of exceptional men in definitive situations, groups differ in their material culture and institutional arrangements as well as in the fundamental social organization. To the extent of its historic continuity and in terms of its historic experience, every group develops and perpetuates a body of tradition that contributes to the psychological aggrandizement of the group and operates as an independent factor in determining survival and growth. In the congeries of groups each has a status determined by its historic rôle. As a consequence of its historic activity and present status there is elaborated a conception of the group and its place in the social order that operates as an independent factor in the determination of future status and subsequent rôle. Each major human grouping has an individuality and a personality which are characteristic and unique.

It is also a fact commonly recognized that the individual personality bears a definite relation to the group membership: the characteristics of the group are impressed upon its members. This is obvious on the biological level, where the physical features and the mental constitution which identify the individual with the racial group are patent evidences of his ancestry. It is perhaps equally obvious that his language and thought-forms, his moral code, his political conceptions, and other culture values are a consequence and an evidence of his group affiliation. But it is not alone nor chiefly in his native traits and culture characteristics that the member mirrors the group. These are important, to be sure, inasmuch as they operate to determine the number, the type, and the frequency of contacts, but membership in a group operates in more subtle ways to condition personality. The personal status of the individual and his consequent conception of himself is conditioned by the status of the major groups with which he is identified. The individual is an Englishman, a Negro, a Jew. Each group has a well-defined status in the existing social order, and membership carries with it a corresponding prestige. The individual's conception of himself, perhaps the most important single item in the determination of personality development, is commensurate with, and is the counterpart of, the prestige of his group.

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But the personality of the man is also a function of the part he has to play in the group in which he holds membership. This rôle is determined by a complex of factors, both individual and social. The biological facts of race, sex, physique, and mentality are certainly basic; they set limits to the originality of the personality and, by setting the limits of social contact and cultural participation, determine its richness. They are, however, of no greater importance than the facts of economic class, educational status, family connection, and other conventional demarcations which give status, direct activity, condition attitudes, and limit personal achievement. By virtue of race, sex, and class, the individual has a certain status in the group and, consequently, a certain conception of himself, a confidence or a timidity, that operates to condition his behavior. He is aware of his own position in the group as well as of the position of his group in the larger society. In terms of these more or less constant factors he develops a philosophy of life appropriate to a tolerable existence in the situation and a body of behavior responses in general accord with his definition of the total situation.

Of particular significance to the present inquiry—the personality of individuals of bi-racial ancestry—are the biological traits of race in their determination of personal status and opportunity, the relative status of the mixed-blood group, and the mixed

blood's conception of himself and of the place of his group in the society.

Incident to the contact and commingling of races and peoples has been the appearance of individuals of bi-racial ancestry. Where the culture level and political status of the groups are not wide apart and where the racial crossings take place within the forms sanctioned by the sex *mores*, no stigma attaches to the offspring. Where the physical similarity of the blending groups is close, the hybrids may bear no revealing marks of origin and pass as individuals in the interracial situation. Even when the intermixture is between sharply contrasted types, if the cultural status be similar and inter-marriage tolerated, the hybridized individuals, though bearing the hallmark of their origin, may, especially in an urban and cosmopolitan environment, lead individual and culturally unobstructed lives. Such hybrids are not without interest, biological and sociological, but they do not form segregated groups, hence they lie outside the orbit of present interest.

But when the mixed-blood individuals are the result of temporary relations between members of races that differ in social tradition and culture status as well as in physical type they are not only variant physically, they are branded socially. The biological marks of origin set them apart from other elements of the population and serve as an

ever-present reminder that sex tabus are violated and caste integrity threatened. The emotional tension consequent upon the violation of the tribal *mores* finds relief in behavior inimical to the dignity and self-respect of the hybrids. Outraged tribal sentiment demands a victim. In the circumstances the mixed bloods are unable to participate on equal terms in the culture life of either group.

In some historic situations the half-breeds have been excluded from one, and in others from both parent groups. In the one case they are associated with the culturally and politically inferior race; in the other they are literally outcasts and lead an economically precarious and culturally isolated existence. As their numbers increase they tend to be formed into a special caste intermediate in physical type and polygenic in culture. This group unity, at first imposed by external forces, may develop into a functional solidarity as the individual struggle for status and self-respect strengthens the internal bonds. Sometimes this hybrid group is repressed and its importance ignored; sometimes its development is encouraged in order that it may be utilized as an instrument in the manipulation and control of the native race. In either case the hybrids sentimentally idealize the culturally dominant group and seek recognition from, and admission to, it. The mixed blood's hysterical and insistent knocking at the white man's door is a familiar sound in every bi-racial situation. Its



disguises are many, though its objective is ever the same. When an American mulatto intemperately abuses the white man and fervently thanks his God that no drop of Anglo-Saxon blood courses through his veins he is displaying a familiar mechanism but deceiving only the psychologically uninitiated. The mulatto student who recently remarked, in a discussion of the darker and less refined members of the race, that, "No white man can despise the dirty animals as I do," differs from the mulatto who idealizes the lower orders only in candor and in the absence of self-deception.

But a mixed-blood group occupies a strategic position and comes to play a distinctive rôle in the political situation. It functions as a buffer and intermediary if the policy of the dominant race encourages its separation and gives it recognition as an independent social reality. It functions as an aristocracy and furnishes leaders for the native race if the policy of the dominant group refuses formal recognition and discourages the class separation. But in any case, regardless of the prevailing policy and independent of any design, the mixed-blood group comes to function as a cultural intermediary in the interracial situation. In terms of function in the inclusive social and political organization the group gets recognition and comes to have a clearly understood, though generally not a formally defined, status. The group develops the body of folk lore and tradition, the set of beliefs

and prejudices, that a tolerable life in the situation demands. It develops a body or rationalization, couched in terms of the prevailing social emphasis, to explain in the least unflattering way the group status and rôle that evolved in response to the requirements of the situation. With variations suited to, and understandable in terms of, local differences in culture standards and philosophies of life, every mixed-blood group conforms to a single general pattern. They manifest common culture characteristics; they occupy similar caste status; they play comparable rôles; they exhibit the same psychological characteristics and type of mind. They define the objective of collective endeavor in identical ways; they strive for the same objectives by use of the same methods. In brief, every mixed-blood group conforms, psychologically and culturally, to type.

The mixed-blood individual is thus born into a peculiar and complex environment of which his personality development is the subjective aspect. Aside from any biological determinants of personality development, the importance of which is recognized but which are not here under consideration—personality is determined by the type of interaction possible within the institutional and traditional limitations imposed by the fact of group membership. The original and originally undifferentiated reaction equipment differentiates, under the influence of environmental stimulation, into

socially defined attitudes and wishes. The wishes must find their satisfaction within the conventional patterns set by the group, and there results, in consequence, a characteristic personality norm. There is, to be sure, a considerable range in the ability of individuals to conform to cultural patterns, and a somewhat wider variation in the conventional obstacles to free participation. Certain individuals, because of native deficiency or because of early conditioning, are incapable of making the adjustments demanded in any normally complex social life. There are also differences in individual accessibility to cultural stimulations that go with the accidents of sex, family connections, economic status, formal education, and other incidents of imperfect social organization. But back of these minor variations is a common experience that gives a personality norm about which the variations arising from original and conventional differences tend to fluctuate. The sociological aspect of personality is a product of interaction, and the basic similarity in the cultural status of mixed-blood groups results in the formation of a characteristic personality type.

Where an arbitrary social fiat excludes the individuals of bi-racial origin from participation in the social and cultural life of the politically dominant group, the alternatives are a special caste organization or a cultural identification with the backward group.

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In the latter case, where the mixed bloods fail of social recognition, they come to occupy a status, more or less definitely aristocratic, within the cultural minority. The biological fact of relationship to the politically dominant group gives a prestige and assures a preferential status. They are born into an assured social position. They compose, more or less exclusively, the group from which leadership emerges. The status is understood and accepted, the ethnic and class differences are realized; the mixed-bloods' conception of themselves is that of the native proletariat. Where the mixed bloods are thus identified with the native group, there is no conflict between the individual wishes and the socially enforced standards. There is no divided loyalty and no conscious effort to escape status. The mixed bloods in this situation are accommodated; they are conventional persons. They have surrendered the socially disapproved individual wishes and have accepted more or less completely and absolutely the standards imposed by the overgroup. In this case they display no personality characteristics of distinctive type. They are identified in sentiment and interest with the minority group, and the sociological characteristics of personality are determined by their status and rôle in that environmental situation rather than by the hybrid group to which they belong biologically.

But the hybrid leader of the native group is not necessarily a philistine. His identification with the

native race may be an individual adjustment providing a practical resolution of the conflict between his wish complex and the requirements and limitations of the social order. He may achieve a socialized realization of his wishes through a re-creation of the situation. In such case the result is what Thomas has termed a "creative man." In the American race situation, the case of Booker T. Washington is known to everyone, but he was merely the best known of many mulattoes who have achieved the status of full manhood through a sublimation of their wishes and an identification of their interests with those of the black folk.

But the individuals of mixed blood are not always, nor usually, able to resolve the conflict between personal desires and social tabus. Denied admission to one group, they are unable to accept the alternative, identification with the other. They are unable to sublimate the wishes to effect a socialized realization. Superior in fact and in their psychology to the natives, they are at the same time inferior in fact and in their psychology to the caste from which they desire recognition. They may form a separate caste, but the essential conflict remains; regardless of political status, the personal wishes cannot get satisfaction within the socially sanctioned forms. Denied recognition by the one group and refusing to be identified with the other defines a conflict that the typical mixed blood is unable to resolve in either a philistine or a creative

reconstruction. The result is a characteristic and clearly defined personality type. It should be emphasized that this personality type is not a biological consequence of racial intermixture, but a sociological phenomenon resulting from the fact of divided loyalties.

The mixed-blood individual is in a fundamental sense a member of different and exclusive groups. Each group has its rules and definitions in accordance with which the wishes must find their satisfaction; each impresses a set of beliefs and behavior standards; each develops a body of sentimental loyalties. As an aspirant for membership in the culturally advanced group, the mixed blood approves and upholds its ideals and standards. But as a member of a special caste or as an unaccommodated member of the excluded racial group, he embodies the ideal and standards of the minority. Thus, within the individual, incident to the real or potential membership in opposing groups, there is mental disorder, a conflict between opposing group loyalties. In last analysis the conflict is between opposing groups; the mental conflict is but the counterpart of the external situation. The covert conflict is irresolvable so long as the mixed blood is denied admittance to the idealized group and remains unaccommodated to the other.

Individual escape takes varied forms, which do not require enumeration here. The tendency to overcompensation for inferiority status is familiar

to every observer of racial and social phenomena, as is also the tendency toward formalism, bohemianism, egocentrism, and introversion.

The mixed blood is thus an unadjusted person. His immediate group has no respected place in the society. In ideals and aspirations he is identified with the culturally dominant group; in social rôle and cultural participation he is identified with the excluded group. He is, in consequence, a man of divided loyalties. It is only when the resulting conflict is resolved by the mixed blood's accommodation to the socially defined place—membership in, and leadership of, the backward group—only when he identifies himself with it, participates in life on that basis, and finds the satisfaction of his wishes in that group organization that he escapes the conflict resulting from his divided heritage. It is only through an identification of himself with the social group to which the social definitions consign him that he can find a tolerable life and develop a wholesome personality.

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